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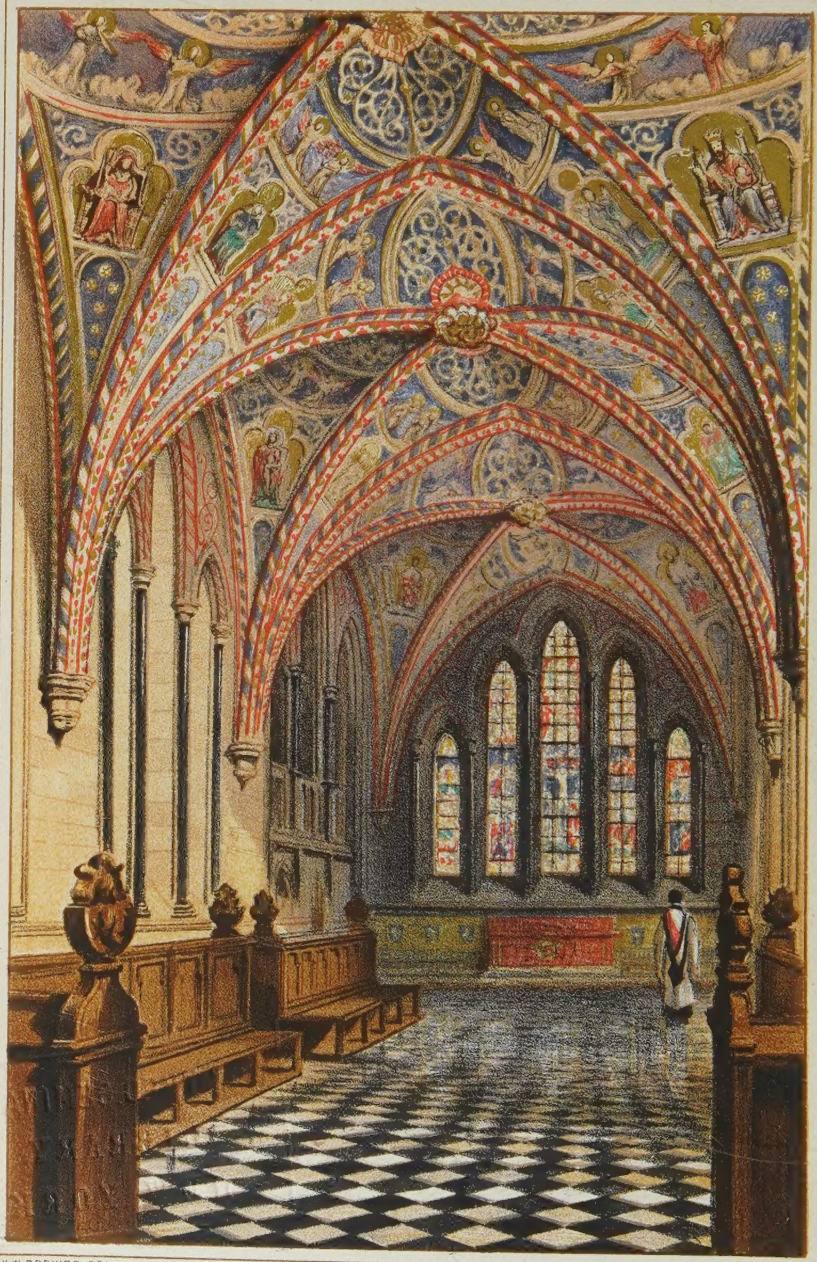

H.W. BREWER. DEL.

HANHART. IMP.

Lambeth Palace Chapel.

IN 1881.

96.I.6

LAMBETH PALACE

And its Associations

BY

J. CAVE-BROWNE, M.A.

VICAR OF DETLING, KENT;
AND FOR MANY YEARS CURATE OF THE PARISH CHURCH
OF ST MARY, LAMBETH

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY

THE LATE ARCHBISHOP TAIT

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS

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TO WHICH IS ADDED

MEDIEVAL LIFE AMONG THE OLD PALACES OF THE PRIMACY

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TO

The Memory of

MRS TAIT,

WHOSE KINDLY SUGGESTION

FIRST GAVE FORM TO A LONG-CHERISHED WISH,

AND WHOSE ENCOURAGING WORDS

PROMOTED ITS EARLY DEVELOPMENT,

This History of a Palace,

OVER WHICH SHE THREW, FOR TEN YEARS,

THE CHARM OF CHRISTIAN HOSPITALITY AND THE

BEAUTY OF CHRISTIAN HOLINESS

IS MOST REVERENTLY INSCRIBED.

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION.

VERY mingled are the feelings with which the Author now sends forth a Second Edition of 'Lambeth Palace and its Associations.'

He gratefully acknowledges the most unexpected favour with which his work has been received by the general public, and the indulgent, and, he fears, in some cases the too flattering, judgments of reviewers; and accepts its rapid sale, and the immediate call for a further supply, as a proof that he has not wholly failed in his endeavour to invest what is essentially an archæological subject with something of popular interest. But any such personal gratification is painfully tempered by the thought that he to whose encouragement during the progress of the work, and to whose interest in the subject of it, as evinced in the Introduction,—one

of the last productions of his pen,—it was so deeply indebted, only just lived to see it in its completed form.[1]

Thus it has come that, while on the first edition the Author was permitted to inscribe gratefully and reverently the name of Mrs Tait,—the second, alas! he is called on to dedicate sorrowing

TO THE MEMORY OF

ARCHBISHOP TAIT

HIMSELF.

---

[1] The work was published on the 15th November 1882, and Archbishop Tait died Advent Sunday, December 3d.

PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION.

"I LOVE this old house, and was very desirous of amusing myself, if I could find means to do it, with the history of its buildings." So wrote Archbishop Herring[1] to his antiquarian friend Dr Ducarel, in 1754. The place he wrote about and loved was "Croydon House," in those days a very favourite residence of the Archbishops.

These words exactly express the feelings which were ever uppermost in the mind of the author of the present volume, when, nearly forty years ago, his parochial duties took him daily under the walls of the far more noteworthy and famed Archiepiscopal residence, Lambeth Palace,—feelings which were encouraged by the characteristic courtesy of Archbishops Howley and Sumner, who permitted

[1] Nichols's Literary Anecdotes, vol. ix. p. 305.

him to wander freely over that venerable pile. Here, during some nine years,[1] was being cherished a love of antiquarian research, and the habit formed of collecting and storing up every particle of information—from history, or architecture, or art — bearing upon this favourite subject; while the vision seemed to be constantly floating before his mind that he might some day be able to write a History of a place he too had learned to love, and one so rich in national and ecclesiastical associations.

The call of duty, however, carried him away to far-distant scenes and different subjects; and during some twenty years spent in India, very different subjects forced themselves on his attention, and for a time Lambeth Palace and its history of necessity fell into the background,—out of sight, though never quite out of mind. But when, soon after his return to England, he found himself again standing in his old haunts, and found too that, though Lambeth Palace had passed into other hands, its portals were as open to him as before, and even greater facilities and encouragement were offered to him for carrying out his long-cherished wish, he set himself strenuously to

[1] The author was curate of Lambeth from 1842 to 1851.

arrange and digest the data he had previously accumulated, and to add to them from every available quarter. The result is now in the reader's hands.

Such was simply the origin of this History of Lambeth Palace; and such the excuse, if excuse be necessary, for the attempt to write it.

Not that no History of the Palace existed; or that none hitherto written was worthy of the theme; or that he presumed to think that he could produce one more worthy than those already published. Far otherwise. There were several, —and one of them most valuable; but they were either as antiquated in style as in subject—for the Lambeth Palace of to-day is not the Lambeth Palace of even sixty years ago; or so rare as to be scarcely attainable by the general public: while Lambeth Palace had been so essentially a part of the history of the English Church and nation that it deserved—nay, demanded—to have its story brought within reach of every class of readers in this age of eager inquiry; and to such the existing Histories were so many "sealed books."

The principal authority on this subject was Dr Andrew Coltee Ducarel, the greatest Antiquarian

of his day, — who, as keeper of the Lambeth Archives, lived in the midst of the Registers and Manuscripts. Hence Ducarel's 'History of Lambeth Palace' has been, and ever must be, the basis of all subsequent histories of the place. A few years after him, the subject was carried on by his friend, Dr Samuel Denne, Rector of Lambeth, who prepared a volume equally valuable, as "Addenda" to the previous work. These two appeared originally in that incomparable collection of "Fragments" of the labours of literary men, which from their size were liable to be lost or overlooked, but were rescued from the wreck of time, and preserved by that indefatigable antiquarian, John Nichols, by being published in his 'Bibliotheca Topographica Britannica,' in the years 1785 and 1795. Ten years after, in 1806, two enterprising publishers—Messrs Herbert & Brayley—produced a volume entitled 'Lambeth Palace, Illustrated in a series of views representing its most interesting Antiquities, in Buildings, Portraits, Stained Glass,' &c. This is a work of considerable artistic merit; but true to its title, it is only valuable for the sake of the Illustrations, of which the letterpress, being little more than extracts from Ducarel, is a running comment. Then,

in the year 1827, Mr Thomas Allen, a Lambeth resident, with a laudable zeal for the fame of his parish, compiled a volume, in which he has embodied most of the facts which Ducarel and Denne had brought to light. This work being somewhat less archæological, and more popular in style, is really the only ordinarily available history of the Palace and the Parish generally; and of it the History of the Palace forms but a fractional part; but even this work is not easily to be met with: while those by Ducarel and Denne are most rare, and are practically lost to the general public, being only to be found occasionally in very rich archæological libraries.

Moreover, the latest of these describes a building so altered as to be scarcely recognised, beyond its main external outline and character. For the very year after Allen's History was published, the whole of Lambeth Palace underwent so great a change that the descriptions then given often refer to rooms which have now disappeared; while in those parts which have been preserved and restored, the arrangements are in many cases so different that they would only perplex instead of guiding the reader.

The one work on the subject which has ap-

peared since the changes effected in 1829 is 'The History and Antiquities of Lambeth,' by John Tanswell, of the Inner Temple, which was published in 1858. In it barely fifty pages are devoted to the Palace; and these contain so many inaccuracies that it can never be accepted, even so far as it goes, as an authority.[1]

In the present volume, the author's earnest desire and aim has been to tell the tale of Lambeth — or, rather, to make those historic portions of it which belong to days gone by tell their own tale — down to the present time; so that the general reader of to-day, as well as the Archæologian, may find an account, as far as he could make it intelligible and reliable, of what Lambeth Palace has been, and what it now is.

He is conscious that, among other imperfections of his work, there may seem to be a want of continuity in the narrative, or of connection between the several divisions of his subject, and, it may be, a difference of style in the different parts. For these he would thus account. His

[1] In a collection of Essays under the head of 'Stray Studies,' by the Rev. J. R. Green, is one on "Lambeth and the Archbishops," which possesses all the charms of that author's style and graphic power of grouping historical characters; yet is not without some inaccuracies of local description, which would seem to have been either sketched in from memory, or adopted at second-hand without being verified.

original intention, which he has been able partly to carry out, was to compress each portion of his subject within the limits of an article for a Review or Magazine,[1] so that, benefiting by criticisms and corrections, he might insure the greater accuracy for his completed work. This independent and distinctive treatment of each part may probably be still detected in the present volume, and betray the unskilled hand of the literary workman in joining together his pieces into a symmetrical whole.

At the same time he would plead for indulgent criticism on this defect—if it be one—for the very variety in the parts seems to render this difference almost necessary. He could not, for instance, dwell upon the details of this noble Palace without indulging in an archæological admiration of that art-life with which its very stones are instinct. He could not stand in that Portrait-gallery without tracing out in thought the leading *traits* of character which distinguished each of those Fathers in God by whose like-

[1] A considerable portion of the earlier pages of this volume is an expansion of an Article in the 'Quarterly Review' for July 1878; and that referring to the Portraits of the Archbishops is based on one which appeared in 'Macmillan's Magazine,' August 1879. For permission to reproduce the substance of these articles the Author would tender his acknowledgments to the Publishers of these Periodicals.

nesses he was surrounded; or in that Library, without allowing his mind to travel over those treasures of learning and art which it contained; still less in that Chapel, so rich in memories of the past of England's Church, without feeling the influence of the *genius loci*—without a pulse quickened by recalling the stirring events, fraught with joy or woe, of which it had been the scene.

In each part his irresistible impulse has been to identify himself with the spot whereon he was standing, and his desire to carry his readers with him: he has throughout laboured to portray, with all possible exactness and truth, the persons, the characters, the actions of the distinguished men who for many centuries have successively found a home at Lambeth Palace, and who, while representing, have also in many cases guided and led the mind of the English Church of their day.

On one point the author feels that some apology is due to the general reader—to the Antiquarian who may deign to read his work no such apology will be necessary—for having burdened his pages with footnotes. Conscious that he was bringing forward many details of Palace history which had been hitherto unnoticed, and, more-

over, that he was endeavouring to refute some generally accepted local traditions, he felt called upon to justify his statements; and therefore, at no little personal labour of research, he has striven to trace up every statement to its fountain-head, in order to give his authority for making it, and to verify every reference given by other writers before becoming himself responsible for it.

So wide has been the range of subjects embraced, and so various the sources from which reliable information had to be sought, that the author has been compelled to tax the kindness not only of personal friends, but also of perfect strangers; yet from every quarter, from private individuals, and from the officials in the British Museum, the Record Office, and the Heralds' College, as well as in Lambeth Palace itself, he has received most ready and valuable help; for which he desires to record his very grateful acknowledgments.

Two names he feels called on to mention as having specially encouraged him in his work, and aided him with their local as well as general knowledge: the Ven. Benjamin Harrison, Archdeacon of Maidstone, for many years Domestic Chaplain

to Archbishop Howley; and the Rev. Randall T. Davidson, who no less ably fills the same office in the household of Archbishop Tait: in the one the Lambeth Palace of years gone by, in the other the Lambeth Palace of to-day, has a hearty and appreciative exponent, and to both the author is deeply indebted for information and advice.

Detling Vicarage, Maidstone, 1882.

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INTRODUCTION

BY

THE LATE ARCHBISHOP TAIT.

THERE are in London comparatively few buildings interesting from their antiquity. The Tower, the Abbey, and here and there a parish church or an ancient hall, which has escaped demolition and restoration,—these represent almost all that now remains to us of London before the seventeenth century.

Our rich prosperity has been the natural cause of this widespread demolition. New wants and abundant means have removed old buildings and substituted new in their place.

Lambeth Palace, like the English Church of which it is the centre, holds a position intermediate between the old and the new. The blackened "Lollards' Tower," and the Chapel by its side,

carry us back at once to the Middle Ages. The great brick towers which form the Palace Gateway bear the name of their builder, the Cardinal Chancellor of the first of the Tudors. The Library is a medieval Hall, greatly injured in the desolations of the Commonwealth, and repaired at the Restoration according to the taste of Inigo Jones; while one half of the whole Palace is occupied by the commodious house erected by Mr Blore, under Archbishop Howley, in the revived Tudor style of the nineteenth century. There is abundant historical interest in this mass of somewhat incongruous buildings. The memory of events important for the nation and the Church clings to the walls. The western towers of the Palace and the garden below might seem to be tenanted even now by the great men who had their dwelling there in momentous times of old.

No wonder that there has of late revived, not in England only, but across the Atlantic, a friendly interest in this old fortress of the National Church. Old and yet new. This is characteristic of the Church of England, as it ought to be of the whole Church of Christ on earth, learning from old experience, both from the virtues and the errors of the past, how to regulate the present and to provide for the future.

Our Church's history links us with every period

in the records of our national life. In outward organisation the See of Canterbury unites us with our earliest English ancestors, and, indirectly, even with the earlier British Church.

And even if we confine our thoughts to the time —now nearly seven centuries—during which the Archbishops have lived in Lambeth, we find ourselves connected by the associations which cluster round these walls, with each step in the onward progress of our Church and people towards fuller light and higher liberty. We can find memorials here of the successful efforts made to secure freedom from the thraldom of Rome, which marked the reigns of the later Plantagenets, and of the Lancastrian and Yorkist sovereigns. We can trace the mode in which Christian influence was maintained throughout the land in spite of marauding barons and rapacious kings. We can see how the professed followers of Christ bore themselves amid the struggles preceding that great upheaval of society in which the hitherto non-privileged classes asserted their rights as Englishmen. We learn how the Church of England, notwithstanding the grave faults of many of its rulers, adapted itself—under the good hand of God—in all these troublous times, and in the changing days which followed them, to the real wants of the English people. The admonitions of places are, to the

student of history, as powerful as the admonitions of books. Men's hearts may well be stirred, and their loyalty to the National Church confirmed, as they trace the many memorials in the architecture, pictures, and ornaments of Lambeth, which bring them face to face with the past, and so arouse their high hopes for the future.

This power of adaptation to the ever-varying circumstances of the nation's life, which has secured the Church's influence through so many centuries, is not likely to forsake us now. We may see a frequent example of it in the use to which these buildings are put to-day. Juxon's Great Hall and the adjoining "Guard-room," built for a very different purpose, afford abundant space and opportunity for those larger gatherings of clergy and laity, by which men seek to further the work of Christ in these somewhat democratic times. Two great Conferences of Bishops from every quarter of the world have met at Lambeth, as a natural centre, within the last few years. Missionary and charitable agencies of every kind now find here their annual meeting-place; and it may well be doubted whether, in their long history, these old halls have ever been filled with men more zealous to uphold the Church of their fathers, or more active to promote the advancement of Christ's kingdom upon earth. May God, who has helped us hitherto, give

wisdom to their counsels and vigour to their work. *Except the Lord build the house, their labour is but lost that build it. Except the Lord keep the city, the watchman waketh but in vain.*

Mr Cave-Browne, long familiar through his studies, and his former residence in the parish of Lambeth, both with the history and with the present condition of the buildings, has done well to lay before the public the results of his research. From what I have seen of the proof-sheets, many of which have been submitted to my inspection, I am confident that he will be found to have collected a larger number of historical facts relating to Lambeth Palace than has yet been published in any available form; while the skill with which these copious materials are arranged and edited speaks for itself. I gladly call attention to his book; and I trust that the gates of Lambeth Palace will ever be readily opened to all who take an interest in its history, and in the work which centres within its walls.

A. C. CANTUAR.

LAMBETH PALACE, *November* 1881.

LAMBETH PALACE.

CHAPTER I.

How Lambeth Palace became the Residence of the Archbishops of Canterbury.

For nearly seven centuries, and during a succession of exactly fifty occupants of the See, Lambeth Palace, or, as it was formerly called, "Lambeth House,"[1] has been the official residence of the Archbishops of Canterbury. How it came to be so opens out a little-known yet very important

[1] The use of the term "Palace," as now commonly applied to every Episcopal residence, is comparatively of recent date. Formerly it was exclusively confined to the Bishop's residence within his own Cathedral city,—all others were simply termed "Houses." This distinction was always very strictly observed: of which a notable instance is given in Wilkins's Concilia (vol. iv. p. 108), where are two letters written by Bonner, Bishop of London, the one dated "at my House at Fulham," the other "at the Bishop's Palace of London." It would seem as if the original term "Manor" (*in manerio nostro*) was retained for Lambeth till Laud adopted that of "*House*:" that of "Lambeth Palace" only came into use early in the present century.—Denne's Addenda to Ducarel's Lambeth Palace, p. 1.

page in English history. That they should have taken up their abode here, outside their own diocese, at a time when they already possessed nearly a dozen palaces, or manor-houses, within it, besides half as many more in the adjoining counties of Sussex and Surrey—and among the latter, one so near as Croydon—is itself a fact of no little historical interest, and indeed one of much political and ecclesiastical significance. Lambeth Palace, as will presently appear, is nothing less than a memorial of a great struggle with the Papacy; it is a standing protest, though not successful, of the English Church of the twelfth century against the dictation of Rome; it is a material evidence of the early assertion of her championship of the rights of the English people against Papal usurpation.

It arose thus. A long-protracted contest had been carried on between the two conjoint, yet more often conflicting, authorities at Canterbury, the Archbishops of the Province and the Monks of the Priory of Christ Church in that city. These Regulars, who, like all similar foundations in this country, reflected and exerted the Papal influence in England, were constantly seeking to exercise a control, not only in minor points of local administration, but even to the extent of claiming a right in the election of the Metropolitan himself—a claim advanced on the ground that when the Archbishop was also the Prior of their Monastery the election always lay with them. To escape from such in-

terference on the part of a body who were nominally his coadjutors and counsellors, but in reality a rival power, Archbishop Baldwin, who came to the Primacy in 1185, himself the elect of the suffragans, being vigorously supported by Henry II., formed the bold resolve of having somewhere outside his Cathedral city a Chapter of secular Canons independent of the Canterbury Monks, and in the midst of them a residence for himself, where he might live and act free of such interference.

Hackington, now commonly called St Stephens, about half a mile from Canterbury, was the spot first selected; and a Bull was obtained from Pope Urban III. in support of this project. But Hackington was too near to Canterbury; and the Monks were too powerful. They no sooner saw the work beginning, than, suspecting ulterior motives in the Archbishop's design, they hurried off emissaries to Rome to intrigue against him and undermine his plans: and they succeeded. The original Bull was revoked; prohibitory mandates were obtained; and the project was so far abandoned that the Hackington site was given up. But the Archbishop was not disposed to yield altogether.[1] A more suitable site offered itself at Lambeth, and one presenting other and greater advantages. This site being obtained, by an arrangement which will be explained presently, the materials he had

[1] "Ædificandæ basilicæ locum quidem mutavit, sed non intentionem."—Chronica Gervasii Hist. Angl. Scriptores Decem (Twysden, 1652), p. 1564.

collected at Hackington were all transferred to Lambeth; and the building was commenced. Yet even here the Monks followed him with their opposition; and when Baldwin accompanied his king to the Holy Land the contest was still pending. His death, however, soon after gave the Monks their opportunity; and, *vacante sede*, they demolished the unfinished Chapel. But they did more; they proceeded at once to elect as his successor one on whom they looked as a pliant nominee of their own—Reginald Fitz Josceline, Bishop of Bath. The body of suffragan Bishops of the Province, who also claimed a right to, or a share in, the selection of their Metropolitan, disputed this appointment, as having been made without their concurrence. However Fitz Josceline died before he could be confirmed in the See, and so the dispute settled itself.

On the vacancy thus created, a compromise was made; the Bishops and Monks agreed to act together, and their united choice fell on Hubert Walter, at that time Bishop of Salisbury. The new Primate was a man of purpose, as he soon proved. The last election, and the circumstances of his own, satisfied him that it was very desirable such a state of things should cease. He saw the wisdom of Baldwin's Lambeth project, and was resolved to act upon it as a means of escaping altogether from the proximity and interference of the Monks. But, as a compromise, he offered to trans-

fer the proposed College to Maidstone instead : this, however, was equally objected to by the Monks. So he was determined to persevere at Lambeth. Additional ground was obtained from the Dean and Chapter of Rochester, and in 1197 the Chapel began to rise once more on its former site. Yet even he could not carry his point. Mandate succeeded mandate from Rome; dire anathemas were launched against him for disobedience; and he was compelled to yield so far as to suspend operations. Still this did not satisfy the Monks, or the Pope, who proceeded to threaten an Interdict if the Chapel were not at once demolished—an Interdict King and Primate together could not have withstood, even had Henry II. still been on the throne; for with his experience of the power of the Pope after the murder of Becket, he would hardly have dared to defy its authority again. But he was now dead; and Richard had succeeded, and was far too much engaged in the war with France to mix himself up with such a struggle : nor could the Archbishop hope to succeed single-handed and unsupported. So the doom of the Chapel was pronounced. It had nearly reached completion—this nucleus of the long-wished-for College—only to be again levelled with the ground;[1] and with it vanished all hopes of a Lambeth Chapter. But although Hubert Walter might not have his College

[1] "Capella solo tenus diruta est."—Chronica Gervasii (Decem Scriptores), Twysden's ed., p. 1572.

and his Canons, he was resolved to have his residence at Lambeth.[1]

The motives for this persistent and increasing opposition of the Monks are not far to seek. They foresaw that their Metropolitical Priory of Christ Church would thus cease to be paramount among the Monasteries of England—the prestige which now centred in the shrine of St Thomas would be imperilled, and the offerings which were being poured lavishly into their treasury would fail.[2] Thus the glory and the wealth of their body would be in imminent danger of being lessened by the foundation of a distinct and designedly rival College, founded, too, in honour of the blessed martyr St Thomas;[3] and then their own power and influence over future Primates and the Church at large would decline and eventually disappear. It was against such a contingency that they strove to guard; such a virtual extinction of themselves they hoped to avert. And as with their fall or decay the Papacy would lose one very powerful agency in the country, they found Pope after Pope only too ready to identify himself with their cause.[4]

[1] The whole history of this prolonged controversy, here briefly summarised, is given by the old Canterbury monk Gervase.—See Twysden's edition, already quoted, of Decem Scriptores; Imaginationes, p. 1304, &c.; Chronica, pp. 1564-1622.

[2] Cardinal Morton says: "The annual offerings on St Thomas's shrine averaged from £8000 to £10,000; on that of 'Our Lady,' about £200; while on the high altar, to Christ, they varied from twelve to five marks! sometimes *nil!!*"

[3] Matthew Paris, Hist. Major (Wats, 1640), p. 195.

[4] Camden thus forcibly describes the state of mind of the monks: "Cum

Such was the controversy and the struggle which resulted in the possession of Lambeth by the See of Canterbury. It may be well to explain here more fully how this now historic site was originally acquired.

Of the early history of Lambeth in Saxon times nothing is known.[1] It would seem to have been a royal manor,[2] as the adjacent one of Kennington certainly was. The earliest period at which the ownership of the manor can be assigned is the reign of Edward the Confessor, when, according to Domesday-Book, it belonged to the Countess Goda,[3] the king's sister, and wife of Walter, Earl of Mantes (Maigne), and afterwards of Eustace, Earl of Boulogne. To her is ascribed in 'Registrum Roffense' the honour of having granted the manor to the Bishop and Convent of Rochester. It, however, soon passed back from the Church to the Crown. Lying at the western extremity of the canal which Canute had dug across the swamps of Southwark to enable him to bring his ships up

ecclesiolam Collegiatam hîc etiam molirentur, Deus bone, quot Romam a Cantuariensibus Monachis advolarunt appellationes, quot inde fulmina, minæ, et censuræ a Romano Pontifice in Archiepiscopos emissa? Malé enim metuerunt illi Monachi ne fundi sui foret calamitas, et in Archiepiscoporum electionibus, illis præjudicaret. Nec sedatæ fuerunt hae tempestates donec inchoata Ecclesiola instantibus Monachis solo adæquaretur."—Camden's Britannia (folio ed. 1607), p. 217.

[1] Ducarel's Lambeth Palace, p. 2.

[2] A charter is extant (dated 1062) in which Edward the Confessor granted the manor, or rather confirmed the grant, to the Abbey of Waltham in Essex.

[3] "Goda comitissa tenuit soror R[egis] E[dwardi]."—Domesday-Book.

above London for an attack from that side, it assumed a position of considerable strategical importance in the subsequent wars between the Saxons and the Danes, and was seized by Harold as a *point d'appui* against the invaders. From Harold it passed to the Conqueror, who gave part of the Manor to his half-brother Odo, Bishop of Bayeux. William Rufus, however, restored the whole manor and the advowson of the Parish Church (which the Countess Goda had retained), to the Prior and Convent of Rochester;[1] and this re-grant was confirmed by Henry I., and expressly assigned for the maintenance of the Monks of Rochester.[2]

A small portion of the Manor was obtained by Archbishop Baldwin when he first contemplated the erection of his College; but of the exact circumstances of that exchange no record appears.[3] When, however, Hubert Walter determined to carry out this project, *malgré* Monks and Pope, he thought it necessary to extend the site; and as

[1] Thorpe's Registrum Roffense, p. 2; Hearne's Textus Roffensis, p. 213. The original deed of gift is preserved among the Charters in the British Museum.—L. F. C. vii. 1. The confirmation of the grant by Henry I. is given in Hearne's Textus Roffensis, p. 224.

[2] "Ad victum monachorum."—Hearne's Textus Roff., p. 153.

[3] Gervase of Canterbury very clearly distinguishes between the *two exchanges*, and mentions them at different times.—See Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores Decem (Twysden). "Anno 1191; Facta cum episcopo et monachis Roffensibus commutatione quarundam terrarum quas habebant in territorio villæ eorum quæ vocatur *Lamhee*," &c.—Chronica, p. 1564. And subsequently,—"A.D. 1197; Archiepisc. Cantuar cum monachis Roffensibus . . . dedit eis villam *de Rente* (Darente?) nomine in concambium et perpetuam possessionem pro villa de *Lamhee*," &c.—Ibid., p. 1597.

the Lambeth lands lay inconveniently distant from Rochester, while the Archbishop of Canterbury possessed the much more handy manor of Darente, and the rich grazing-ground[1] attached to the Chapel of Helles (or Hells), a further exchange was proposed, and Darente and Helles, with their belongings, were given up for Lambeth. This was finally effected in 1197 between Archbishop Hubert Walter and Gilbert de Glanville, Bishop of Rochester, and at that time also Rector of Lambeth.[2]

Lambeth doubtless in those days retained much of the character to which it is currently believed to have owed its name, as being little better than a *muddy river-bank* or *landing-place;* for the generally accepted derivation of the name is from *lam* or *loam*, Saxon for "mud," and *hee*, *hithe*, or *hythe*, "haven" or "landing-place, and has the high sanction of Leland and Camden:[3] yet no less weighty an authority than Ducarel himself suggests that the first syllable must be the Saxon word *lamb*, because the letter *b* occurs in the Saxon chronicles and "the ancientest authors;"

[1] "Unam bercariam . . . cum ducentis viginti ovibus."—Chartæ Misc., Lambeth MSS., vol. xi. No. 17.

[2] The original Charters for the exchange of these lands, and the confirmatory Royal grants, are to be found among the Cottonian MSS. in the British Museum, the Lambeth MSS., and the Registrum Roffense, and are most of them printed *in extenso* in Ducarel's History of Lambeth Palace, Appendix, pp. 1-11.

[3] Camden's Britannia—"Lamhith sive Lomehith, *i.e.*, statio sive portus luteus" (folio ed. 1607), p. 216.

and adopting this theory, "canting heraldry" has assigned a lamb for the parish arms![1]

It was not, however, without its local advantages in those and even earlier days. In the most ancient Charter in which the name occurs (dated A.D. 1062) its favourable surroundings were mentioned, as also in the Charter in which William Rufus restores the Manor to the See of Rochester. Both land and water could be put into requisition to supply the monastic larder—no trifling consideration in those days. The Thames evidently abounded with lamprey at this point; for Gundulph, the great and good Bishop of Rochester, ordered a supply of five hundred to be sent every year from this Manor to enable him and the monks to exercise hospitality.[2] A successor of his, Bishop Earnulph, seeking specially to honour the memory of one who was regarded as their founder and benefactor, ordered

[1] Lysons (Environs of London, vol. i. p. 257) says of this derivation that "the greatest objection is that it has no meaning." Ducarel (Lambeth Palace, p. 1) gives no less than sixteen different forms in which this name appears, from *Lamhei* to *Lambhitha*. *Lanchei*, which occurs twice in Domesday-Book, is evidently a clerical error of the copyist for *Lamhei*. It has been suggested to the writer that Lambeth was a corruption of *Llan-Bedr*, from the Celtic words *Llan*, a sacred enclosure, and *Bedr*, Peter, and on this derivation was based the theory that Lambeth was once connected with the neighbouring Abbey of St Peter's, Westminster—a derivation in which ethnology and history are alike set at defiance; for, however common and natural *Llan-Bedr* may be in the land of the Celt, it were strangely out of place in a district essentially Saxon. Scarcely more incongruous, not to say ludicrous, is the derivation humorously suggested in the 'Saturday Review,' that *lama* being the Mongolian term for "the chief priest," and *beth* the Hebrew for "house," the two combine to give the name *Lambeth* to the residence of the English Primate, as meaning "the house of the chief priest"!

[2] Cotton MSS. Domitian A.X. 9, f. 98.—Thorpe's Registr. Roff., p. 6.

that one salmon should always be supplied from Lambeth to the monks on Bishop Gundulph's anniversary.[1] So late as Queen Elizabeth's time, the adjacent marsh and lowlands, now teeming with human life—a very network of streets and alleys only broken by occasional factories—must have been amply provided with game; for in the seventh year of her reign a licence was granted to Andrew Perne, D.D., Dean of Ely, then residing at Stockwell, for the killing of "bustards, wyld swans, barnacles, all manner of sea-fowls and fen-fowls, teals, cootes, ducks, and all manner of deare, red, fallow, and roo."[2]

Lambeth, too, had many social advantages; it could boast a Royal residence, besides others of lower degree. Kennington had long been a Royal demesne, as its name indicates; it is called in Domesday *Cheningtune*, or "the Town of the King." Here had been the scene of Hardicanute's sudden death;[3] here, too, according to Lam-

[1] Thorpe's Registr. Roff., p. 7.

[2] Tanswell's History of Lambeth, p. 15. The theological opinions of Dr Perne seem to have been as varied as his sporting tastes, for he is said to have changed his religion four times in twenty years.—See Strype's Life of Archbishop Whitgift, whose Chaplain Dr Perne had been. Fuller, however, in his History of Cambridge, credits Dr Perne with having exercised such moderating influence in the University as Master of Peter House, and as Vice-Chancellor, to which office he was elected five times, that by "his flexible principles" he screened it from the persecution under Mary. Among those whom he thus saved was Whitgift, at that time Fellow of his own College.—Denne's Addenda to Ducarel's Lambeth Palace, pp. 206, 207.

[3] Camden (p. 216) says of it: "Canuti fortis Anglorum regis morte olim celebris, qui ibi inter pocula animam eructavit." Holingshed, on the authority of Simon of Durham and Matthew of Westminster, says of Hardi-

barde,[1] on the authority of William of Malmesbury, the wise and good but ill-starred Harold had placed the crown on his own head on hearing of the death of Edward the Confessor.[2]

Moreover, to Archbishop Hubert Walter it offered special attractions; it was close to Westminster and the Court, and on that ground very desirable for the residence of a Primate high in favour with his King, already Chief Justiciary for England, and expectant Chancellor. The Crown of England had now passed from Saxon to Norman brows; the Court had moved from Winchester to Westminster; so it seemed necessary that the occupant of the Metropolitical See, now rising in political importance and influence, should take up his abode in the new Metropolis of the kingdom. Thus the Primacy, which had come to be at once the stay and the check of Crown and Court, passed from the retired banks of the rippling Stour to the more busy shores of old Father Thames. Such, then, was the *raison d'être* of Lambeth Palace.

London was in other respects, also, at this time adapting itself to its new character. Its first stone bridge, to replace the old wooden structure which had been destroyed by fire, was now in course

canute's death: "As he sat at table in a great feast holden at Lambeth, he fell downe suddenlie with the pot in his hand, and so died, not without some suspicion of poison."

[1] Perambulations in Kent, p. 189.

[2] Much doubt would seem to be entertained as to the truth of this statement, it being an act so utterly foreign to Harold's generally received character and conduct. Freeman does not mention it.

of erection, bearing witness to the commercial development which was beginning to mark London as the real capital of England. This bridge was commenced in 1176 and completed in 1209. Then, too, the disaffection and turbulence of "Earl John" (as he was called) against his brother Richard rendered defensive measures necessary for the safety of the Tower. According to old Stow, "William Longschamps, Bishop of Elie," who was then Chancellor of England (A.D. 1190), "enclosed the Tower and Castell of London with a outward walle of stone imbattailed, and also caused a deepe ditch to be cast about the same."[1]

Meanwhile other Prelates and Nobles were flocking Londonwards to be in proximity to the Court. Longschamps of Ely was already in Holborn; from Temple Bar to "the village of Charinge" the Strand was being fringed with residences of Courtiers and Nobles. Across the Thames the same change was going on; Southwark already had its Diocesan at Winchester House; while a few years later the semi-royal Howards erected for themselves a family residence close to the walls of Lambeth Palace;[2] and in the reign of

[1] Stow's Survey (ed. 1603), p. 46. Hasted, in his History of Kent, vol. xii. p. 348, credits Hubert Walter with this work of "encompassing the Tower with a strong wall and a deep moat," and Tanswell adopts that view, p. 78; but in 1190, Hubert Walter was in the Holy Land with Richard, where he performed the last funeral rites to his friend and patron, the Crusader Primate Baldwin (who died in that year), and then returned to England, to be shortly his successor in the See of Canterbury.

[2] The site of old "Norfolk House" is now occupied by a large distil-

Henry VIII. Lambeth had become "very much the resort of the nobles of Henry's Court, and was considered as a very pleasant retreat, with its beautiful orchards and gardens sloping down to the banks of the Thames."[1]

To return to the subject of the exchange of Lambeth and Darente between these two Kentish Sees of Canterbury and Rochester.

It may seem strange that so small a county as Kent should boast of two Sees; but this may be easily accounted for. In Saxon times it was divided into two kingdoms—one king residing at Canterbury, the other at Rochester; so Augustine, having persuaded Ethelred to found a See at the former city, persuaded his lesser neighbour at Rochester, on his conversion, to follow the superior king's example, and himself nominated the first bishop—a right which was claimed by his successors at Canterbury for many years. Thus from the earliest times there existed a close connection between the two Sees—the Bishop of Rochester holding a suffragan or vicarial relation to the Archbishop of Canterbury; a relation which only ceased a few years ago, on the enlargement of the former diocese. Indeed the Bishop of Rochester is still *ex officio* Provincial Chaplain of Canterbury.

lery, and not a vestige remains of the Ducal dwelling, save that the name still attaches to a small alley and a dirty lane; while the traditional site of what formerly composed the Norfolk House garden is preserved in the at present by no means appropriate name of "Paradise Street."

[1] Miss Strickland's Lives of the Queens of England, vol. iii. p. 106.

Moreover, in the exchange of the lands a small portion at the north corner was retained, and a house built on it, for the Bishop of Rochester, which was long known as "Rochester Place,"[1] and was used by the Bishops of that See until, on the attainder of good Bishop Fisher in 1535, it was appropriated by Henry VIII., and afterwards given by him to the See of Carlisle. It then came to be called "Carlisle House."[2]

To assign even an approximate date to the original building of Lambeth Palace is now impossible, from the failure of all the earlier Registers and records prior to Peckham's time.

Some difference of opinion has been expressed by Antiquaries as to the early existence, on the ground transferred to the Archbishops, of a dwelling-house befitting the dignity of a king's sister.[3] But no distinct mention is made in ancient records of any princely Manor-house, or anything approaching a Mansion, on this spot. On the contrary, it is expressly stated that prior to Bishop Gilbert's time none such existed.[4] Probably whatever build-

[1] It is constantly termed "de Place," or "la Place," in the Rochester Register in the latter part of the fifteenth century.—Denne's Addenda to Ducarel's Lambeth Palace, p. 242.

[2] This building was taken down some years ago to make room for a street, which, under the name of Carlisle Street, still marks the site.

[3] Ducarel's Lambeth Palace, p. 10. See also ibid., pp. 89-132, the lawsuit (in 1776) in which the liability of the Archbishop to pay poor-rates to Lambeth parish was argued.

[4] Bishop Gilbert of Rochester, after restoring his Cathedral, erected houses

ing stood here was at best a Manor "lodge"—ordinarily occupied by the steward who managed the affairs and farmed the land for the Countess Goda, and afterwards probably by one of the Monks who performed the same office for the Rochester Priory—and containing apartments capable of being used as a "resting-house" for the Countess, or the Prior, on any official or casual visit to London.

In the Deed of transfer the word *curia* is used (*Anglicé*, Court), and this is generally supposed to represent a place where Courts, Baron or Leet, were held for the exercise of Manorial rights and powers, rather than a residence. Moreover, in those days even royal and princely dwellings seem to have aspired to but little of magnificence or ornament. Spaciousness was their chief merit. The Long Barn at Kennington, which was standing not many years ago, may be accepted as a specimen; for it is believed to have been the scene of the grand and sumptuous banquets at which the Black Prince, with the honours of Crecy and Poitiers fresh upon him, nobly entertained his courtly and civic guests.

If any buildings did exist, and if it was upon them that Hubert Walter, and after him Stephen Langton, expended in repairs part of the Papal grants received for that purpose, they had evidently fallen into decay in the days of Boniface,

on several of the Manors—"similiter apud Lamheiam, ubi numquam prius Roffens, propriam habuit mansionem," &c.—Thorpe's Text. Roff., p. 11.

who was called upon, only a few years after, "either to repair his houses at Lambeth, or to build new ones."[1] It is doubtful whether he was the real founder of the oldest portion of the present range of buildings, or only repaired and greatly added to the work of his predecessors. We know that the Monks of Canterbury had the malicious satisfaction of seeing Archbishop Walter's Chapel, the most advanced part of his proposed College, razed to the ground when it was all but completed. And not even the present Crypt, which is undoubtedly the oldest portion, contains a vestige of architectural work anterior to the beginning of the thirteenth century. The roof of the Crypt would, indeed, seem to point to a rather earlier period than that of Boniface—that is, earlier than 1245—and it is probable that he raised the present Chapel over the already existing Crypt; and perhaps (as Ducarel suggests) he laid the foundation of the Great Hall.

The fact that several of the earlier Archbishops had held Ordinations and Consecrations at Lambeth long before they became possessed of that Manor, is sometimes used as an argument for the early existence of a lordly Manor-house and a Chapel attached to it; yet the relation of the two

[1] The Bull of Urban IV. is thus worded: "Concedimus tibi ut antiqua ædificia tua in loco congruo apud Lamheiam reædificandi, vel nova construendi, . . . sicut prædecessores tui a quadraginta retro annis habuisse noscuntur, liberam habeas facultatem."—Cotton. MSS., Cleopatra E. 1. f. 199.

Sees already alluded to offers a simple solution of the difficulty. For of these Consecrations and Ordinations it is only said that they were held *apud Lamhee* or *Lamhethe*, and not in the subsequent form, *in capellâ manerii nostri de Lamhee;* and it is probable that the Parish Church close by, or a private Chapel attached to Rochester Place, already mentioned, was the scene of these Archiepiscopal services. This view is certainly confirmed by some notices of Consecrations held here by Anselm,[1] and by the fact that in 1100 he held a Council announcing the intended marriage between Henry I. and Matilda, daughter of Malcolm, King of Scotland, "in the Ville of St Andrew of Rochester, situated near London, called *Lamheta*."[2]

It is singular that one of these early recorded Consecrations at Lambeth[3] was that of Baldwin, A.D. 1180 (to the See of Worcester, whence he was translated five years after to that of Canterbury), with whom, as has been shown, originated the exchange, completed by his successor, which made Lambeth the future Archiepiscopal residence; and that no subsequent Archbishop was consecrated here till Cardinal Morton, just three hundred years after (A.D. 1480) whose consecration took place *in capella manerii de Lamhethe*,

[1] See "Vita S. Anselmi," prefixed to Anselmi Opera (Ed. Gerberon, 1675), and Eadmeri Historia, lib. iv. p. 77.

[2] "In villa Sancti Andreæ de Rovecestra, quæ Lamheta vocatur."—Eadmeri Historia, lib. iii. p. 57.

[3] See Appendix A.

and who became in his turn so liberal a benefactor to the Palace.

Before proceeding further, the reader must bear in mind that, about fifty years ago, the appearance of Lambeth Palace underwent so great a change that any description of an earlier date conveys a very vague and confused impression of its present appearance; yet it is to that earlier building, or rather to the remaining portions of it, that the present history mainly belongs.

Thanks to the minute accounts which were kept by the Stewards or Bailiffs of the early Archbishops, and are still preserved among the archives of the Palace, under the title of 'Computus Ballivorum;' it is still possible to trace the growth of these buildings. So early as the year 1321, the fifteenth of the reign of Edward II., we learn that Archbishop Reynolds effected extensive repairs, and in this record,[1] mention is made of the following rooms as then existing: there were—my Lord's Chapel (probably a private oratory), my Lord's Chamber, the Hall, the Chancellor's Chamber, the

[1] Computus Ballivorum, Rotulæ Arch. Reginaldi, 15 Ed. II., Lambeth MSS., 1193 (545). The entry runs thus: "Ad reparandum defectus parietis Wardrobæ juxta Capellam Domini, . . . cameræ domini, . . . cameræ juxta Aulam, . . . cameræ Cancellarii, . . . et pro aureola * (sic) Magnæ Capellæ . . . coquinæ (cook-room) . . . pistrinæ (bakehouse) . . . Wardrobæ pro fratribus, . . . Cameræ vocatæ *Storehous*, . . . domus feni (hay-loft) . . . longi stabuli . . . magnæ portæ," &c.

* When this occurs again, a few lines after, it is spelt "oriolæ," doubtless meaning "an oriel."

Great Chapel, the Great Gate at the entrance, two Wardrobes, or closets, besides divers minor domestic apartments. It is also recorded that the wages for specified mechanics then employed—carpenters, tilers, plumbers, and plasterers—were at the rate of 7d. a-day.

The next "Steward's Account" of any note occurs a century later—when the munificent Chicheley was erecting his Tower, and repairing the other parts of the building.[1] The number of rooms had by that time greatly increased, unless some are mentioned again under different names; for, besides the Great Hall (*Magna Aula*), the Archbishop's Oratory and Chapel, there were the Guard Chamber (*Camera Armigerorum*), the Great and Little Cloister (*Claustrum Magnum et Parvum*), the Great Chamber, the Little Chamber (*Prolocutorium*), the Parlour (?), the Steward's Chamber, Auditor's Chamber, Registry, and Register's Chamber, Clerk of the Kitchen's Apartment, besides many other "meaner apartments." The chief items of expense appear to have been then—as is certainly the case now—under the head of "labour;" but then a bricklayer's wages were 4d. a-day with, or 6d. without, victuals; while a labourer's were respectively 3d. and 4d. At the end of the 'Computus,' or Daily Account, is a short abstract showing that the total cost of the Tower was £278, 2s. 11¼d.! which

[1] Computus Ballivorum, 3 Henry VI., Lambeth MSS., 1193 (561). Ducarel's Lambeth Palace, pp. 13, 14.

would represent something like £3000 of the present currency.

Fifty years later, the present Gateway was erected by Cardinal Morton.[1] Towards the close of another half-century Cranmer is said to have built the small Tower at the north-east of the Chapel. A MS. note in the copy of Parker's 'De Antiquitate Britannica' in the Lambeth Library, referring to additions made by Cranmer, also says, "Cœnaculum inferius (hodie-dictum, *the Great Parlour*) apud Lambeth construxit;" which expression would seem to point to the spacious dining-room which lay to the east of the Tower, having above it a corresponding room, which was probably that called "the Chamber of Presence," mentioned in Parker's Will.[2] Some writers, however, would ascribe these rooms to Pole.

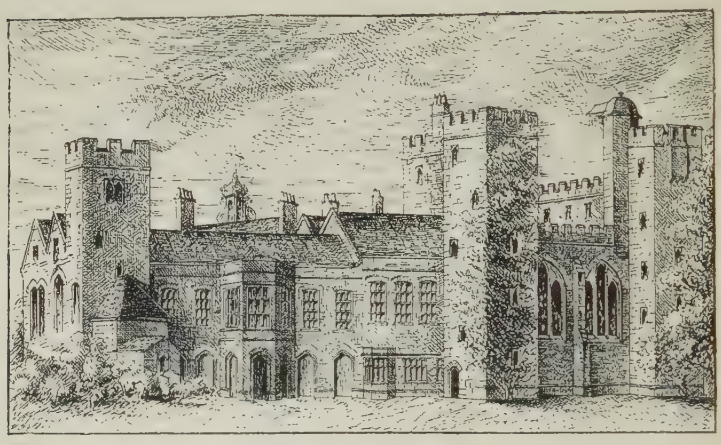
Doubtful though it may be whether Cranmer or Cardinal Pole built the rooms immediately adjoining the Tower on the east, it is always asserted that Pole added on the Long Gallery[3] (and most probably also the narrow Cloister, or piazza, on which it ran), stretching further to the east into the

[1] Morton's Register, f. 237, 238. Ducarel's Lambeth Palace, p. 15.

[2] The clause runs thus: "Do successoribus meis illud magnum instrumentum, quasi abacum, cum suis appendiceis, jam locatum in cubiculo illo quod ministri Regii vocant *Præsentiæ*," &c. — Strype's Life of Parker, (folio ed. 1711), Appendix, p. 186. Annals (folio ed. 1725), vol. i. p. 158.

[3] Godwin's Catalogue, under Cardinal Pole (edition 1601), p. 175. Aubrey's Antiquities of Surrey, vol. v. p. 272. Ducarel's Lambeth Palace, p. 16.

garden, or bowling-green. This must not be confounded with the one which existed over the Great



Garden View prior to 1829.

or Inner Cloister, and was for more than a century used as "the Library."

The walls of this Long Gallery the Cardinal evidently lined with the choicest of his pictures; pre-eminent among them hung the portraits of Warham and Erasmus by Holbein,[1] and the still more historic group of the "Four Latin Fathers."[2] This Gallery Parker in his Will calls *Deambulatorium*, and not inappropriately, for it would have served as an excellent exercising-ground on a wet day, being about ninety feet long. Parker himself seems to have

[1] "Imagines tabulatæ Episcopi Warhami prædecessoris mei, et Erasmi Rotherodami, in Deambulatorio sitæ," &c.—Parker's Will, given in the Appendix to Strype's Life of the Archbishop (folio ed. 1711), p. 186.

[2] History of Laud's Troubles and Trial (1695), p. 314.

added but little to the accommodation at Lambeth, though he expended considerable sums in covering the roof of the Great Hall with shingle, and in improving the drainage.[1] His munificence was chiefly conspicuous in Canterbury Palace. Laud's Primacy, though so troubled, saw the restoration of the Chapel windows, and the addition of the smaller Tower on the south face of Chicheley's Water-Tower; the chief object of which no doubt was, as will be shown presently, to provide a better staircase to the apartments in the earlier Tower, and more comfortable rooms for the Chaplains: though additional accommodation would hardly seem to have been necessary, considering there were already upwards of 130 apartments, including those in the Gateway and the other Towers.[2]

Juxon's three years were marked by costly repair of Puritan desecration and demolition in Chapel and Hall. During the next century and a half each succeeding Primate appears to have made some addition, or supposed embellishment. A second line of buildings was thrown out into the main yard; one Archbishop built a servants' hall—another a range of apartments for the ladies of his family; a third, "a magnificent new drawing-room,"

[1] Ducarel's Lambeth Palace, p. 16.

[2] See a list of the apartments preserved in the State Paper Office, Domestic Series, Charles I., 1635, vol. 310, No. 16; and printed in Ducarel's Lambeth Palace, pp. 84, 85, where it is stated erroneously as "Temp. Eliz. vel Jacob."

called "the Velvet Room," because it was hung with purple and red velvet;[1] a fourth added a large kitchen; and a fifth a spacious laundry; while one covered the noble oak panelling of the rooms in the Gateway with painted scrollwork and cherubs; and another, with even more ruthless modernising zeal, tore down the rich hangings of the "Velvet Room," and, still worse, the grand old tapestry of the "Presence-Chamber," and replaced both velvet and tapestry with painted wainscot![2]

The result of these successive additions was that the more strictly domestic portion of the Primate's residence consisted of two parallel ranges of rooms, large and small, utterly without system, or order, or regard to comfort, which ran out at right angles eastward, one from Cranmer's Tower, and the other from the Guard-room, forming an open square, with a kitchen-garden in the middle.

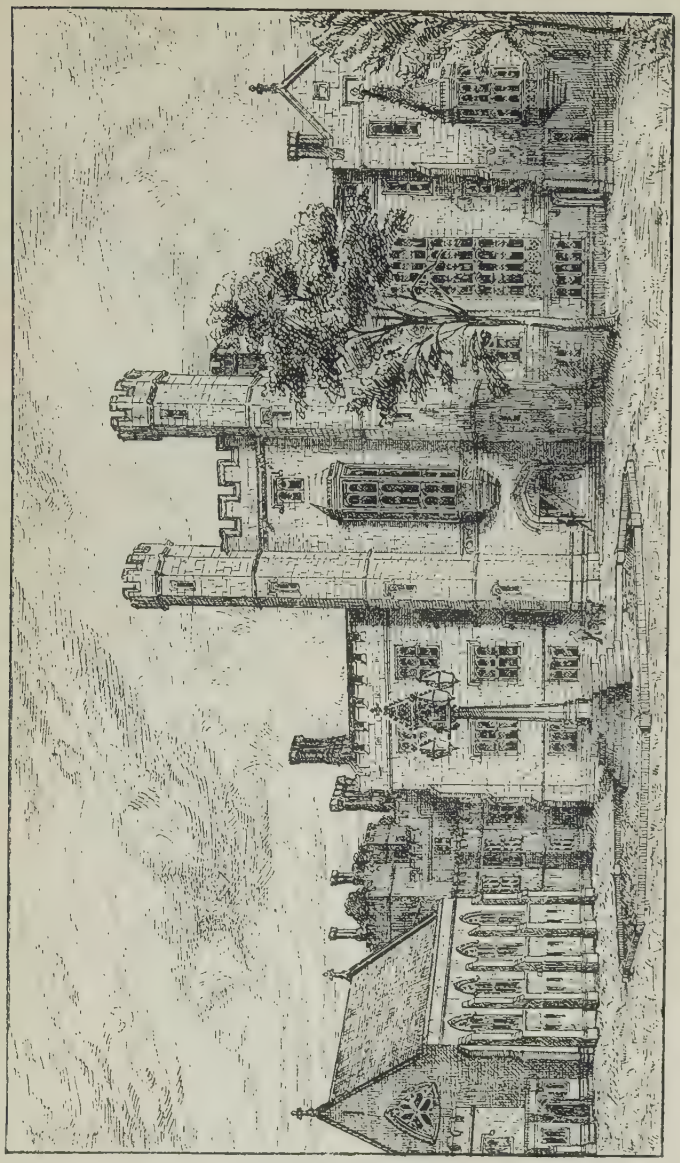
Such was the Palace when Archbishop Howley was appointed to the Primacy in 1828.

While preserving with appreciative reverence, and carefully restoring, all that was really ancient and historic, his architectural zeal and taste[3] impelled him at once to sweep away this patchwork jumble of more recent dwelling-apartments, and to substi-

[1] "Camera quædam vocata *la velvet room* infra Ædes Lambethanas."—Archbishop Wake's Register, f. 366, b.

[2] Ducarel's Lambeth Palace, pp. 17-20.

[3] When Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford he had rebuilt the Professor's house; when Bishop of London he had built anew the official residence, London House, in St James's Square, and also extensively restored Fulham Palace.



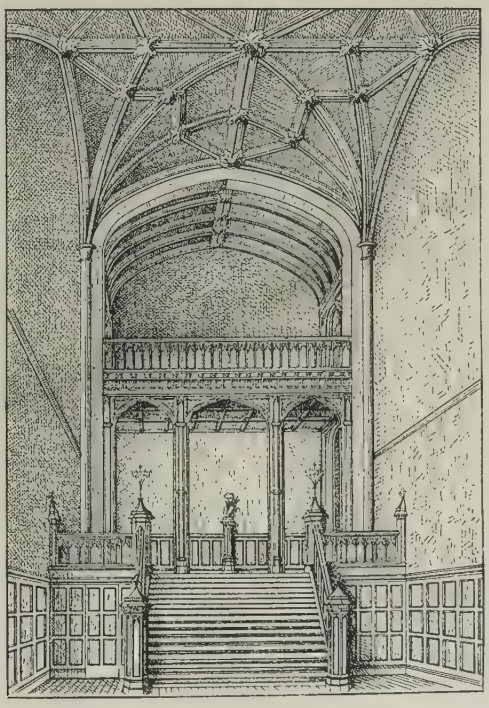
Main Courtyard Entrance.

tute for them, at a cost of some £60,000—half of which came from his own private purse—the present handsome range of buildings, which form one long line, extending eastward from Cranmer's Tower, and presenting both in the main Courtyard and in the Garden, an imposing battlemented

Garden View.

frontage, effectively broken by irregular projections of bay-windows and oriels, and relieved by graceful turrets. The entrance from the Courtyard opens into a spacious hall, where a broad flight of steps leads to a lofty corridor running at right angles, above 130 feet long, on either side of which are distributed the principal apartments—the line of drawing-rooms, the private dining-room, the Archbishop's study and library, rooms for the Chaplains, &c., and waiting-rooms for visi-

tors; while the storey above, with corresponding corridor reaching from end to end, is occupied by sleeping-apartments. Thus have public conveni-

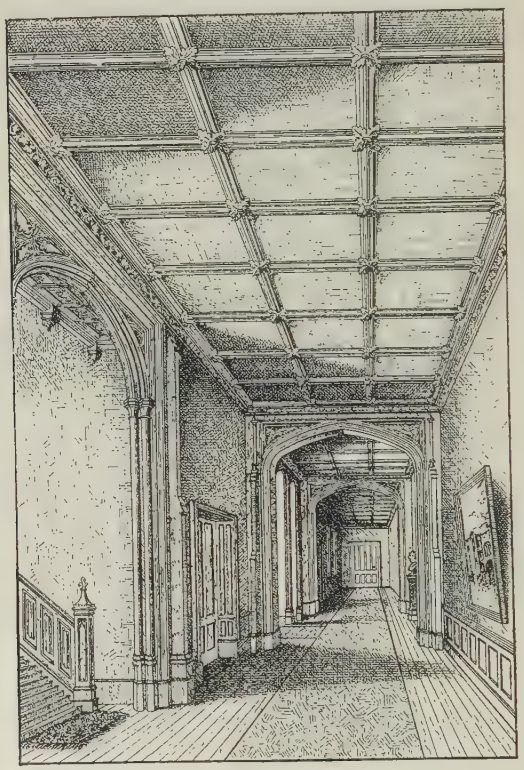


Entrance Hall.

ence and domestic comfort been happily combined with architectural effect.[1]

[1] With the profounder knowledge since acquired of the true principles of Gothic architecture, ecclesiastical and domestic alike, this new range may draw down some strictures from the archæologists and architects of to-day; yet we may ascribe it in no slight degree to the cultivated mind and refined taste of Archbishop Howley himself that, such as it is, it was in advance of

It is of the older portions that we purpose to treat in the following pages—not exactly in their



The Corridor.

chronological succession, but in the order in which they meet the eye from the river-side, and in which

the times half a century ago. Mr Blore, the architect, is justly entitled to the credit of having been one of the earliest to attempt the introduction of a taste for true medieval restoration, of which the new portion of Lambeth Palace is no unworthy specimen of the Tudor style.

an inspection of them can be most advantageously made.

To any one standing on the deck of a steamboat as it glides down the river, the Great Gateway beside the Tower of the Parish Church first comes in sight; passing on, beyond it rises the lofty roof of the Great Hall; next to it, a little in the background, and not quite so elevated and conspicuous, may be detected the roof of the old Guard-room; then the solid pile of grey stone, properly designated the "Water-Tower," though commonly known as the "Lollards' Tower," abutting out almost to the Embankment; passing on still, round the angle, and beyond its north face, the eye detects among the trees within the grounds another but a less imposing square pile already mentioned as "Cranmer's Tower;" and between these, three bays of elegant lancet-windows, which mark the site of the Chapel.

Thus—though very few may be conscious of it—the everyday passer-by on the stream of old Father Thames can command a view of every ancient part of this time-honoured Palace of the Archbishops.

Of these we will speak in their order.

CHAPTER II.

The Great Gateway, or Morton's Tower.

It involves no slight effort of the imagination to conceive that, until the middle of the eighteenth century,[1] the Thames flowed on in uninterrupted stream, its course unbroken by a single bridge between Putney and London Bridge; and that between those two points the only mode of crossing the river from the Surrey to the Middlesex side, for man or beast, was by ferry-boat.

Frequent mention, indeed, is made by old historians of bridges as existing on the Thames at an early period; for instance, in 1357, John de Sheppey, Bishop of Rochester, obtained permission from Archbishop Islip to erect one at Stangate for the convenience of his own dependants and friends.[2] But it must be borne in mind that the word

[1] It was not until within ten years of George III. coming to the throne, that a second bridge crossed the river. This was the one at Westminster, which was completed in 1750. Then followed in rapid succession those of Blackfriars and Waterloo.

[2] "Noveritis nos concessisse . . . Johanni de Sheepey Dei gratia Roffensi episcopo . . licentiam construendi et erigendi in solo nostro in Lambeth in quodam loco vocato Stangate unum pontem ad aysiamenta predicti

pons used by the old Monkish chroniclers did not always mean a *bridge* in the modern sense of the word, but far more often a *quay*, or *stairs*, from which travellers might take boat to cross the river.[1] And old maps of London show that the river-bank on either side was well supplied with such landing-places, under the name of bridges.

Now, clearly the most direct, and therefore the most frequented, route from the Southwark side to Westminster, would be ordinarily between Lambeth Stairs[2] and the old Horse Ferry Road at Westminster, nearly corresponding with the line which the present Suspension Bridge takes as it spans the Thames at this point.

Here, then, would naturally be the main entrance to the enclosed land, whether of the Court-house of the Countess Goda, or of a small farm belonging to the Monks of Rochester. Here, certainly, would be the entrance to the buildings which gradually rose up to form the residence of the Archbishops of Canterbury. The humble wicket, or gate, which

Episcopi familie sue, et aliorum ibidem secum Tamisiam transeuncium, vel aliorum ad eum quacunque causa ultra Tamisiam transire vel redire volencium," &c.—Islip's Register, f. 138.

[1] An instance of the more recent use of the word "bridge," in the sense of a *landing-stage* or *stairs*, occurs in "Hakluyt's Principall Navigations, &c." (1589), p. 323, where the Russian ambassador, on his visit to Queen Mary in 1556-57, is described as being publicly received "at Westminster Bridge," when it is clearly meant that he landed from a barge at Westminster Stairs; for no bridge existed here till nearly two hundred years after.

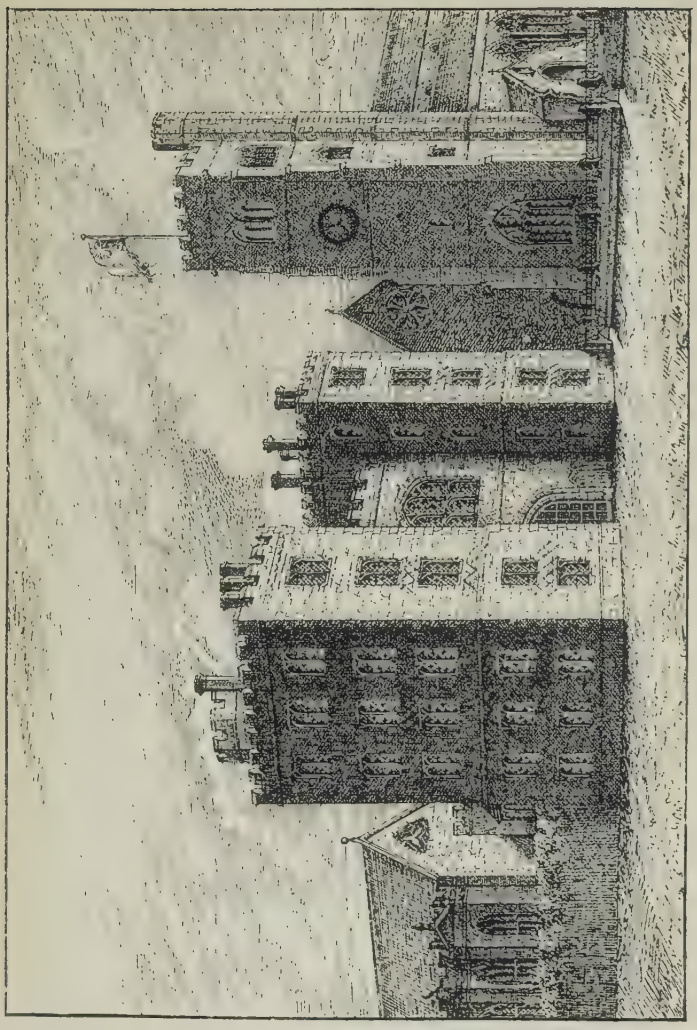
[2] The ferry at this point represented one of the rights attached to the Palace; the profits arising from the ferry-boat were granted by patents to some of the Palace officials; and when Westminster Bridge was completed in 1750, compensation was given by Act of Parliament for the loss of these profits.—Ducarel's Lambeth Palace, p. 79.

might suffice for the Court-lodge or farmstead, would, in the course of time, give place to a more substantial and imposing gateway. Such we find to have existed at least as early as 1321. In the 'Computus Ballivorum' of Archbishop Reynolds mention is made of *Magna Porta*.[1] And no doubt on the site of that older one, some 160 years after, arose the present noble Tower, commonly known as "MORTON'S GATEWAY," which formed a conspicuous portion of the extensive repairs carried out by that princely Primate between A.D. 1486 and 1502; for he found Lambeth, like nearly all the manor-houses of the See, in a ruinous state after the destructive wars between the Houses of York and Lancaster; and here, as everywhere else, he left his mark as the "building Archbishop."

This stately yet somewhat sombre pile of buildings, red brickwork with stone quoins and dressings, forms no unworthy portal to an Archiepiscopal Palace: scarcely can England produce a finer specimen of the early Tudor style of brick building in so good a state of preservation. Indeed, in size and height, in massiveness of character and harmony of design, Morton's Gateway may almost claim to be without a contemporary rival.[2] Other

[1] *Supra*, p. 19.

[2] The most noteworthy specimens now extant, which have any pretension to rival it, are, perhaps, the Gateway of St John's College, Cambridge, and those of Layer Marney Hall in Essex, and Oxburgh Hall in Norfolk. These being of earlier date and more decorated in character, are more striking in general appearance, but lack the massive grandeur of Morton's Gateway at Lambeth.



The Great Gateway.

such, which may have vied with it in past times, have crumbled away, or have been demolished, or "improved" out of all their original character, while this stands unchanged, and little injured, at the close of its fourth century.

A wide-spanned Tudor doorway, with a smaller one beside it, having richly moulded arches, and a three-light perpendicular window above, constitutes the two-storeyed centre, which is flanked by two large massive square towers, five storeys high, that nearest the river being considerably broader than the other; the entire range heavily battlemented.

On entering, the bold groining of the roof, and the imposing proportions of the open arch on the north face, loftier and wider, at once attract the eye. On the right hand a small arched doorway gives admission to the central room, now used as the porter's lodge—of which more presently. On the left hand a corresponding doorway leads into a spacious apartment, originally appropriated to the Registrar of the Prerogative Court,[1] but now utilised as the porter's kitchen.

Outside the large arch, running down the angle, is a very substantial leaden water-pipe, which has evidently weathered the storms of nearly four centuries, for on the square head appears distinctly a *ton*, with the letter M upon it—the *rebus* of the

[1] "Locus registralis communis fuit situs et existens ex opposito domus hospicii janitoris in novo opere portae novitur edificatae apud manerium de Lamebith."—Morton's Register, f. 237.

founder Morton's name. In the outer courtyard to the right is a low plain doorway, opening on a spiral stone staircase, which formerly led to the upper apartments in the Eastern Tower—a portion quite distinct in its internal arrangements from the rest of the building. Here may still be observed what, now used as a small cupboard, was originally designed for a very different purpose—an opening in the inner wall, guarded with strong iron gratings, through which the warder on duty in the middle room could observe every one passing up or down the stairs! For it must be remembered that this and all other Episcopal residences had prisons attached (the origin of which will be explained in the account of the so-called "Lollards' Prison"); these were used not merely, as is commonly imagined, as places for incarceration, but more frequently for detention;[1] where even Nobles accused of disaffection, as well as Churchmen suspected of heresy, were placed under surveillance, in the hope that reflection, or argument, or influence, might convert them to loyalty, or to orthodoxy. Indeed, in some cases a committal to the care of the Archbishop

[1] A MS. noticed in the Hist. MSS. Commission Report, No. 985, as in the possession of Miss Conway Griffiths of Anglesea, throws much light on this point. We read there, that in answer to complaints made by certain gentlemen detained at Ely Palace that they were subjected to "needless hardships," the Lords of the Council (A.D. 1590) passed the following Order: "You are to take care . . . and permit them to enjoye the libertye of the gardens and orchardes and the leades to walk in: and for the better preservacion of ther healthe you shall not onelye suffer them to take the aire of a mile or two in your companye, but the companye of such other trustie parsons as you may be assured of, so they may be in safety."

proved equivalent to a respite, or even a reprieve, for some condemned prisoner of note. Among these may be instanced the case of Hugh Latimer, who, in 1531, having been excommunicated for a supposed act of contumacy, was committed to the "safe custody" of Warham, in his manor of Lambeth.[1]

Yet the sterner aspect of such confinement was not wanting even here. On the opposite side of that centre room, in which the warder could see, as they passed to and fro, those who were enjoying this restricted liberty, ran a passage through a very massive wall, with heavy double doors, leading to an inner room—now used as a scullery; the extreme thickness of the walls, the massive double doors, the small windows with their iron bars, the heavy rings still remaining fixed in the wall, the names still legible on the sides, proclaim this to have been one of the prisons for the refractory, or the recusant. And here are traces of a custom now emphatically condemned as un-English. Where the present entrance into this inner chamber has been cut through, the wall was originally only a single brick in thickness, so that any one sitting in the recess thus formed in the outer face of the wall could overhear the conversations of the prisoners within, who, wholly unconscious that there were eavesdroppers on the other side of a thin partition, may have often sealed their own fate, or involved

[1] Strype's Ecclesiastical Memorials, vol. i. p. 162.

that of others, by unguarded conversations with their fellow-prisoners.

In a turret projection on the north wall of the Western Tower, a similar arched doorway still remains, though the door is closed up. Here another spiral staircase (which is now reached by an inner door), used to give access not only to the apartments in that Tower, but also to the central room over the Gateway. The first floor of this Tower clearly constituted Archbishop Morton's sitting-room, with a small *sanctum* beyond. Here white-wash and paint have left but little of the original woodwork of walls and ceiling visible. Over a spacious fireplace appear in a painted panel the arms of Archbishop Tillotson, with the date MDCXCI (the year of his consecration); and all the fine old oak wainscoting, reaching from floor to ceiling, is smeared with paint in panels of corresponding date and taste! The second floor (as also each of the others above) was originally a single room, occupying the entire storey; in it a recess in the wall, closed by oaken doors, is supposed to have held Archbishop Morton's folding-bed.

One other room remains to be noticed. On this landing is a massive door, with its original hinges and locks, opening into the central apartment, which extends over the entire space of the arched entrance between the two towers. It is now commonly known as the "Record," or "Muniment Room," because in it were kept for many years the

ancient records and archives of the See, until they were removed to a more fitting and secure apartment adjoining Juxon's Hall. This is a room of goodly proportions. Here ceiling and walls still retain their original character; the boldly moulded beams and rafters, the polished oak which covers the entire surface of the walls, a fine stone fireplace with slightly but elegantly carved spandrels, all seem to indicate a State apartment. This room, airy and light, no doubt constituted the "Audience-chamber" of the Palace during the close of the fifteenth and early part of the following century; and though long since denuded of all ornament, and requiring strong uprights to support the beams, in which cracks gape wide and threatening, the general character of the room probably remains much as it was when, with rush-matted floor and skirting, it received the State visitors of the Lord High Chancellor Cardinal, Archbishop Morton, its builder.

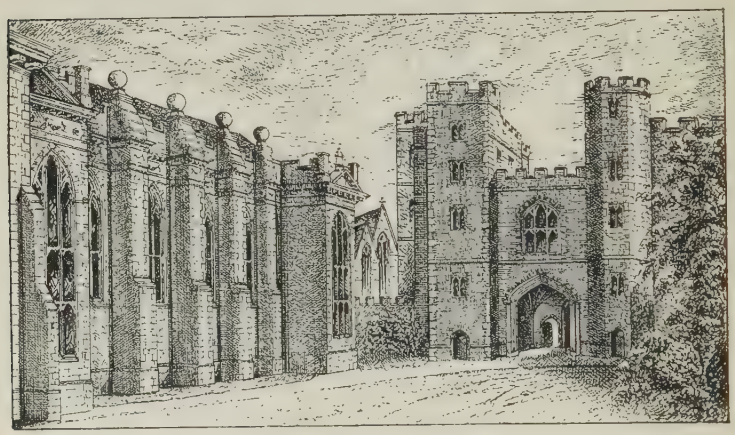
CHAPTER III.

The Great Hall.

PASSING under this main Gateway, the outer Court is reached; here, on the right hand, stretching nearly the whole length of the eastern side, lies the "Great Hall," now commonly called "Juxon's Hall." Five lofty windows of three lights, reaching from within a few feet of the ground to the cornice, and lying deeply recessed between buttresses, form its centre, while the two end bays, containing broader and longer three-light windows, project into the yard, like wings. In the nearest of these a broad doorway formerly occupied the lower portion, with a semi-window above; but the door has been removed, and the window brought down to correspond with that in the northern wing: while entrance is now gained into the Hall through a small doorway under the arch which leads to the main Courtyard.

The Hall itself is a nobly proportioned room, nearly a hundred feet long, fifty high, and thirty-

eight broad. The effect of spaciousness which this area presented, when broken only by a row of solid oak tables and benches running along either side, must have been grand; yet the loss of it is more than compensated for by the present far more useful



View of Library and Great Gateway.

arrangement of well-filled book-cases, which line the sides and project at intervals into the room.

Of its original erection no authoritative record is forthcoming. The loss of the earlier Registers in the time of Archbishop Kilwarby has thrown this and many other points of the Old Palace history into obscurity. That such a building existed, under the name of *Magna Aula*, as early as the beginning of the fourteenth century, is clear; for mention is made of it in the 'Computus Ballivorum,' under Archbishop Reynolds, already alluded to.[1] Ducarel in-

[1] See *supra*, p. 19.

clines to the opinion that it formed part of the original design of Boniface: for Hall, Cloister, Guard-room, and Chapel, constituted at that period the recognised requirements of every such group of buildings, whether Baronial or Monastic; and these at Lambeth would partake of both characters. The hand of Chicheley may undoubtedly be traced here: the 'Computus Ballivorum' of his time show that the extensive repair, if not the virtual rebuilding, of the Hall, in addition to the erection of the Water-Tower, may be included among the works on which he lavished wealth and taste; and Juxon, in his careful restoration, preserved, as will be presently seen, many traces of that master-mind.

A stately Hall formed a necessary adjunct to the residence of a noble in feudal times. Here, surrounded by a vast body of retainers and dependants, would be dispensed a lavish hospitality, so prominent a feature of the social life of those days. And Lambeth had among its occupants many who were distinguished for that virtue; notable among them stood Robert Winchelsea, out of the superabundance of whose banquets arose the well-known "Lambeth Dole,"[1] the remains of the feast distri-

[1] The "Lambeth Dole," after having been continued for centuries, until it degenerated into a promiscuous supply of the demands of all comers, the strongest and the most importunate being of course the first served, was by Mrs Howley in 1830 reduced to a system by which the most deserving poor of the neighbourhood were liberally supplied with a meal two or three times a-week; a system which has been maintained ever since.

buted promiscuously among the crowds of hungry applicants at the gate. In later years the hospitality of Cranmer, Parker, and others, has become historical.

The Great Hall at Lambeth had, moreover, a distinction peculiarly its own, in the "Consecration Banquets," which were almost always held here on the occasion of each addition to the Episcopate of the Southern Province. Of these the most celebrated, as being said to have eclipsed all others in its magnificence, was that of William of Wykeham, in 1367, who, though consecrated at St Paul's by his friend and early patron Archbishop Simon de Langham, kept the feast at Lambeth. In later years these banquets were held in the Guard-room, or Dining-hall. They were discontinued at the consecration of Bishop Wilberforce in 1845, in compliance with his own request.[1] One feature of this now obsolete ceremonial deserves notice. The newly raised Bishop had the privilege of sitting at the head of the table with his cap on his head, while the rest, Archbishop and all, sat uncovered.[2]

[1] Even 250 years ago the banquet used to cost the new Bishop £110.—State Papers Calendar, 1626, p. 514.

[2] An account of a Consecration-feast held at Lambeth in the year 1828 will show how long this custom was preserved. "It is the custom of the day" (writes Bishop Coplestone on the day of his own consecration) "to give the new Bishop precedence after his consecration. He walks first with the Archbishop, and sits at the head of his table—formerly it was with his head covered; and even now the ceremony is kept up of putting on the cap after the company are seated, although it is immediately taken off again."—Memoir of Bishop Coplestone, by his Son, p. 119.

The Great Hall was also used on other occasions for special exercise of hospitality, as, for instance, when in 1408 all the members of Convocation who had been assembled at St Paul's, with many others "eminent in every branch of literature, to a number not easy to be computed, were entertained by Archbishop Arundel with elegance and great profusion of viands."[1]

Councils also of the English Church have sat at Lambeth,—one under Boniface in 1261, another twenty years after under Peckham; again in 1330 one was convened by Simon de Meopham,[2] and four minor Councils between 1350 and 1370 by his successors Archbishops Islip and Langham.[3]

Here, moreover, Convocation met for the transaction of business in 1452, when the infirm state of Archbishop Kempe rendered it necessary to adjourn the session from St Paul's; and again in 1588, when Archbishop Whitgift, from a similar cause, adjourned it from Westminster.[4]

Of the many changeful and startling scenes through which the English Church passed in the course of the sixteenth century, this Hall has witnessed some of the most memorable; and some

[1] Denne's Addenda, p. 177. Wilkins's Concilia, vol. i. p. 309—"*In omni epularum abundantiâ lautissime conviviavit.*"

[2] Wilkins's Concilia, vol. i. p. 756; vol. ii. pp. 50, 51.

[3] Landon's Councils of the Holy Catholic Church, pp. 281, 282.

[4] The expression used by Wilkins (vol. iii. p. 562), quoted in Denne's Addenda, p. 179, is *in alta Camera Majori*, which leads to the inference that possibly the Guard-room and not the Great Hall, generally called *Magna Aula*, was used on that occasion.

of the saddest are those associated with Cranmer. Here in 1534 was held the Special Commission, with the Archbishop at its head, to extort from the London clergy the Oath which transferred the Supremacy from the Pope to the King, and also assigned the Royal succession to the heirs of the then exultant Anne Boleyn. Here on that momentous occasion stood the wise and brave Sir Thomas More, the only layman summoned, and "the noblest layman England ever had"—he who had been the close companion of Henry's early and better youth, but had now fallen into disgrace with his capricious master—and with him his scarcely less noble fellow-prisoner, the aged John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, who had been the Confessor and trusted counsellor of the King's illustrious grandmother, "the Lady Margaret," Countess of Beaufort. The oath, with its preamble, had been craftily drawn—the one it was thought they might accept, but not the other; this was to be the crucial test; this was the trap set for men who were too true, too honest, for reservation. They, knowing full well that refusal would seal their doom, steadfastly refused, rather than do violence to their own consciences. And from that Hall they passed back to their dungeons in the Tower, and ere long to the scaffold.[1]

Here, too, in 1550, after the boy Edward had mounted the throne, and the Reforming party

[1] Strype's Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer (folio ed. 1694), p. 26.

were in full power, was heard that unseemly interchange of incrimination and abuse between the now jubilant Cranmer and his deadly foe Bonner; when the Bishop of London, and Gardiner, his brother of Winchester, stood charged with defiance of the King's orders, for which they were deposed from their Sees and consigned to prison.[1] And on the same spot, only five years after, was enacted another and a far different scene, when all the chief actors had changed places. Edward was dead, Mary was on the throne; Cranmer the prisoner; Cardinal Pole sat in the Primate's chair, with Bonner and Gardiner seated by his side, to demand from the Reform-tainted or suspected Bishops and Clergy a retractation of their views, and to offer them absolution from their heresies.[2]

The following ninety years present little noteworthy in connection with this Hall, save that in Abbot's time it seems to have been used, instead of the Star Chamber, for the sittings of the High Commission, the expenses incidental to this arrangement furnishing that Primate with a ground of complaint. "Since I was Archbishop" (he says), "this thing alone hath cost me out of my

[1] Strype's Memorials of Cranmer, Book II. chap. xix. (folio ed. 1694), p. 223.

[2] It was in this Hall that "the Bishops' Book," as it was called, "The Godly and Pious Institution of a Christian Man," had been compiled in 1537, by an assembly of Divines, consisting of Cranmer, Stokesly, Tunstall, Latimer, Fox (of Hereford), and Shaxton; and here also met that self-constituted body who, under the aged and enfeebled Whitgift, endeavoured to palm "the Lambeth Articles" on the English Church.

private estate one thousand pounds and a half; and if I did say two thousand, it were not much amiss."[1] Under Archbishop Abbot this Hall was also used for a special Court of Inquiry, on an occasion in which grave political as well as religious interests were involved. In the year 1622 a Commission assembled here under the presidency of Abbot, with the Bishops of Durham, Winchester, and Lincoln, and other members of the Privy Council, to investigate charges against Anthony de Domini, Archbishop of Spalatro, who had come to England in the guise of a convert from Romanism, and had received a cordial welcome at Court and at the Universities. He was even permitted to take part in the consecration of Bishops Felton and Monteigne in Lambeth Chapel in 1617, and was subsequently appointed by Charles to the Mastership of the Savoy. It was, however, proved that he was all the while an emissary from Rome, in constant correspondence with the Pope —probably the forerunner of that body of disguised Jesuits who were poured into England during the next decade, with the view of restoring Popery, either by conversion or by reunion. The result of the inquiry was, that he was ordered to quit the country in twenty days, and never again to return to England. Then came the dark days of the Rebellion, when the Palace had passed into the sacrilegious hands of two of Cromwell's minions

[1] Whitelock's Memorials, vol. i. p. 452.

—Colonel Thomas Scot,[1] who was his Secretary of State, and Matthew Hardy (or Hardynge, as it is sometimes spelt) : and then, while every part of the noble pile was desecrated and more or less injured, the Hall was demolished, and its materials sold by auction.

At the Restoration, Archbishop Juxon found the whole Palace "a heap of ruins." During an episcopate of less than three years, he laid out nearly £15,000 in repairs, of which above two-thirds were expended in the rebuilding of this noble Hall. His determination, in spite of the persuasion of men deeply imbued with the spirit of the Renaissance architecture of that day, was to make it as nearly as possible a *restoration ;* and so anxious was he that this character should be preserved, that he inserted in his Will the following proviso : "If I die before the Hall at Lambeth be finished, my executors to be at the charge of finishing it according to the model made of it, if my successor shall give leave." It was, then, but a fitting meed of praise, that the building should thenceforth have been known as "Juxon's Hall."

Its noble open roof, wherein lies its chief architectural beauty, attests the earnestness of the desire which thus found expression in his Will, to retain all that was possible of the medieval character, and shows how nearly he succeeded. Here

[1] Scot had taken part as one of the Commissioners in the trial of Charles I., and was among the first of the Regicides executed after the Restoration.

are the massive projecting hammer-beams with upper and under braces, telling of the days of the Plantagenets; these originally, no doubt, were only less rich in decorated mouldings and carved pendants than those of its nobler contemporary in Westminster Hall, or its earlier rival of Eltham Palace; but while the original lines of construction have been preserved, the more elegant adornments have given place to the round lathe-turned bosses, which, like the large balls or globes that do duty for finials on the walls outside, betray a tardy and reluctant concession to the intrusive demands of the Renaissance. On the centre of the roof rises an elegant *louvre*, or lantern, carrying a vane, on which appear the arms of the See of Canterbury impaling those of Juxon, the whole surmounted by a mitre. These arms, and the date 1663, appear also on the massive leaden gutters that run under the cornice.

From Juxon's days to those of Archbishop Howley, this noble Hall had lain comparatively unused, save as a covered thoroughfare to the private apartments. To him it owed its restoration to use, and its adaptation to the purposes of a Library.

We must still linger a while in this Hall to dwell upon a few of the most attractive relics and memorials that yet remain of its early past. In the window in the north bay have been collected together, from the different windows in the old buildings, such portions of ancient glass as escaped

the hands of the Parliamentarian Vandals. Here are now placed the likenesses of Saints Jerome and Gregory, which were formerly in the old "Presence-Chamber," the existence of which among the earliest of the Palace antiquities may have some connection with the painting of the "Four Latin Fathers," of which an account will be given in due time. St Jerome appears wrapt in meditation on a vision of angels, with his hands clasped upon an open book,—a human skull on the table at his left hand, and a lion crouching by his left side. Under it is the following inscription:—

"Devout his life, his volumes learned be;
The Sacred Writt's Interpreter was he;
And none ye Doctors of the Church amonge
Is found his equal in the Hebrew tongue."

[He lived at the tyme of Pope Damasus, Anno Do. 376.]

While the likeness of St Gregory, richly arrayed in pontificals, his hand resting on a closed book, and his pen laid aside, has its tale thus told:—

"More holy or more learned synce his tyme
Was none that wore the triple diadem;
And by his prayerful studies he is one
Among the chiefest Latin fathers knowne."

[He lived about the year of our Lord 594.]

A third painting of a similar character, purporting to be a likeness of St Augustine, was formerly in a window in the Steward's Parlour, but

has since disappeared. Under it ran the following lines :—

> "So careful of his charitye, so meeke a minde,
> So deeply learned, so Christianlye inclined ;
> And one that hereticks did more confound
> Synce the Apostle's tyme hath not beene found."
> [He died in the year of our Lord 440 ; of his age 70.][1]

In this window is also a likeness of Archbishop Chicheley, which was formerly in one of the windows of the Gallery ; it is a work of considerable beauty, with the finish of a miniature painting, and is remarkable for the unusually youthful character of the face. By a strange anachronism it is encircled by a scroll containing fragments of Cranmer's motto, *Nosce teipsum et Deum.*[2]

Two other panes of glass, which originally had their place in the Gallery, are here, containing figures, in outline, of a globe with a serpent entwined round it, a dove perching upon its head, the whole surrounded by a scroll bearing Cardinal Pole's motto, "*Estote prudentes sicuti serpentes et simplices sicut columbæ ;*" to which are added the words "*Simplicitas amorque recti.*"

From the same place have been brought together

[1] Ducarel's Lambeth Palace, p. 56.

[2] Ducarel (ibid.) says these words were "the motto of Archbishop Stafford, and were improperly placed here in Herring's time ;" but the character indicates a much later period ; and Strype in his life of Cranmer expressly mentions that his motto was "*Nosce teipsum et Deum.*" Fragments of this scroll are also to be found inserted in other parts of this window ; and local tradition always assigns them to Cranmer.

here some coats of arms of great antiquity; one bearing the inscription "Gualterus Reynolds, 1313," another of Kempe, dated 1452; while one still more ancient is supposed to represent the arms of Boniface: here, too, are those of Chicheley and Bourchier;[1] and one, conspicuous for its gorgeous blazonry, displays the arms of Philip of Spain as a Knight of the Garter, which, while in the window in Pole's Gallery, must have been a cause of constant self-imposed torture — a daily memento of disappointed hopes—to the Cardinal Cousin, and would-be husband, of Mary. Here also appear the Royal Arms, quartering those of England and France, enclosed within the ribbon of the Order of the Garter, apparently of the date of Edward III., and possibly commemorative of that king's visit to Archbishop Stratford in 1345, when John de Montfort, Duke of Brittany, did homage to Edward in the Palace.

Besides these, are the coats of arms of the Primates from Cranmer to Sancroft, which, according to Wharton, Sancroft introduced into the windows of rooms which have since disappeared.[2] To these Archbishop Howley added the arms of the subsequent Primates, and brought all together into this window; including among them, on a larger scale, Juxon's and his own—the one having rebuilt the Hall, the other having adapted it to its

[1] Herbert and Brayley's Lambeth Palace Illustrated, p. 46.
[2] Denne's Addenda to Ducarel's Lambeth Palace (Bibl. Topogr.), p. 165.

present use; while, conspicuous on a panel at the north end of the Hall itself, he placed those of Bancroft, with whom the Library originated, and at the south end those of Secker, to whom it was indebted for so many of its choicest treasures.[1]

Before proceeding to describe those treasures, it may not be out of place to notice here more fully the Galleries in which they were formerly placed. Two Cloisters are mentioned in the 'Computus Ballivorum' as existing in the time of Archbishop Reynolds, there described as *magnum et parvum claustrum*.[2] Of these the latter, probably only a single line, supported by a row of twelve pillars, ran along the north, or garden side, of the Chapel, being little more than a covered walk in wet weather, access to which was gained through the door, which still remains, opening out of Cranmer's Tower. This Cloister was removed by Archbishop Herring.[3]

The Great Cloisters[4] were quadrangular in form, lying between the south side of the Chapel and the north end of the Hall, with the Guard-room on the

[1] One other feature of the Hall must be noticed. The doorway at the north end of the east side, opening into the vestibule, is a remarkable specimen of the Italian style of architecture, which, if not designed by an Italian artist, bears striking resemblance to *renaissance* work so frequently met with in Italy.

[2] See page 19. [3] Ducarel's Lambeth Palace, p. 46.

[4] Aubrey in his Antiquities of Surrey (ed. 1719), vol. v. p. 273, calls these the "Inner Cloysters"; while Ducarel (p. 46) applies that term to the others on the north of the Chapel.

The Cloisters, with parts of the Guard-room and Chapel, Lambeth Palace

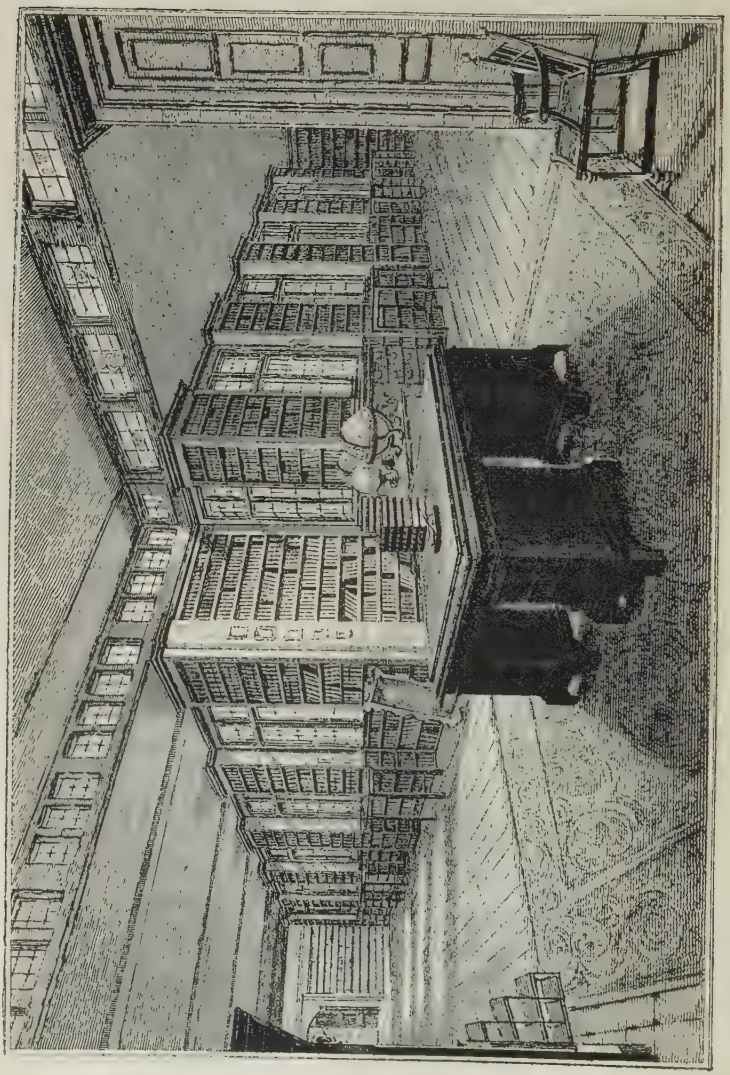
east, and on the west opening out into the outer courtyard, and commanding a view of the Thames. Aubrey,[1] who was his contemporary, ascribes the building of these Galleries over the Cloisters to Archbishop Sheldon: but Lysons[2] suggests that he only restored them, and adapted them to the purposes of a Library, for the reception of Bancroft's legacy, which he had succeeded in recovering from the University of Cambridge. This is far more probable; for Galleries undoubtedly existed here in Elizabeth's time; and the tradition may not be unfounded which assigns them, as well as the Long Gallery over the eastern colonnade, to Cardinal Pole. There is little of historical interest connected with them; beyond the single incident recorded in the "Progresses of Queen Elizabeth,"[3] that on a Wednesday in Lent, in 1573, on the occasion of one of Queen Elizabeth's visits to the Archbishop, a pulpit was placed near the pump which stood in the centre of the quadrangle, and Dr Pearce, at that time one of the Chaplains of his Grace, preached a sermon; the Queen with her nobles and courtiers listening to it in the galleries round, while the people, who filled the quadrangle below, "divided their attention between her Majesty and the preacher."

Judging from the engravings[4] of these Cloisters

[1] Antiquities of Surrey, vol. i. p. 9.
[2] Environs of London, vol. i. p. 265.
[3] Edited by J. Nichols, vol. i. p. 325.
[4] Two are given in Herbert and Brayley's Lambeth Palace Illustrated.

and Galleries, they possessed as little of architectural beauty as they did of historical interest. All traces of early work, if any remained, were lost in subsequent repairs and plasterings : whatever there might have been of arches or columns had disappeared in favour of a line of small square latticed casemates in wooden frames, just large enough to light what had ceased to be used otherwise than as covered passages ; while in the galleries above were five large windows on each of the four sides, of the plainest, poorest style possible—certainly nothing in Cloisters or Galleries to entitle them to be rescued from demolition, when their removal helped to turn the area they occupied to more useful purpose, and also to bring out into greater prominence the other nobler portions of the Palace.

A passing regret, however, may be pardonable on the removal of these Galleries, from the personal associations they would recall. For while they constituted the Library of the Palace, they were no doubt the resort of some of England's greatest students and historians. John Foxe, the martyrologist, whose earlier days had been spent in Norfolk House close by, when he was tutor to the Earl of Surrey, and who, after his return from Basle, whither he had fled in the Marian persecution, found a welcome and an asylum under the same roof for the remaining years of his life, was most probably a frequent visitor here ; Stow, the antiquarian, the friend of Archbishop Parker, we know



The Library, Lambeth Palace.

was;[1] so too John Strype, the grand old Church historian, who rejoiced in Archbishop Tenison as his admiring and congenial patron;[2] not to mention Henry Wharton, Edmund Gibson, David Wilkins, and Andrew Ducarel, whose literary powers and fame imparted a glory to the office which they successively filled, of Librarians at Lambeth. The very presence of men such as these, whose names are so worthily woven into the history of the English Church, would doubtless to some extent endear to after-ages the place in which they daily spent hours in laborious study and research, the fruits of which they have left for our enjoyment. Still, the loss of those old Galleries, with their homely book-shelf linings, and their arctic-region temperature, which defied all attempts at warming,[3] is surely more than compensated for by the present very advantageous transfer of their contents into Juxon's Hall,—which we would now consider in its new character of the Library.

[1] Strype's Life of Parker.

[2] Strype's Annals (folio ed. 1709), vol. i. p. 159, &c. Archbishop Tenison gave Strype the Sinecure Rectory of Tarring, in Sussex, in 1724.

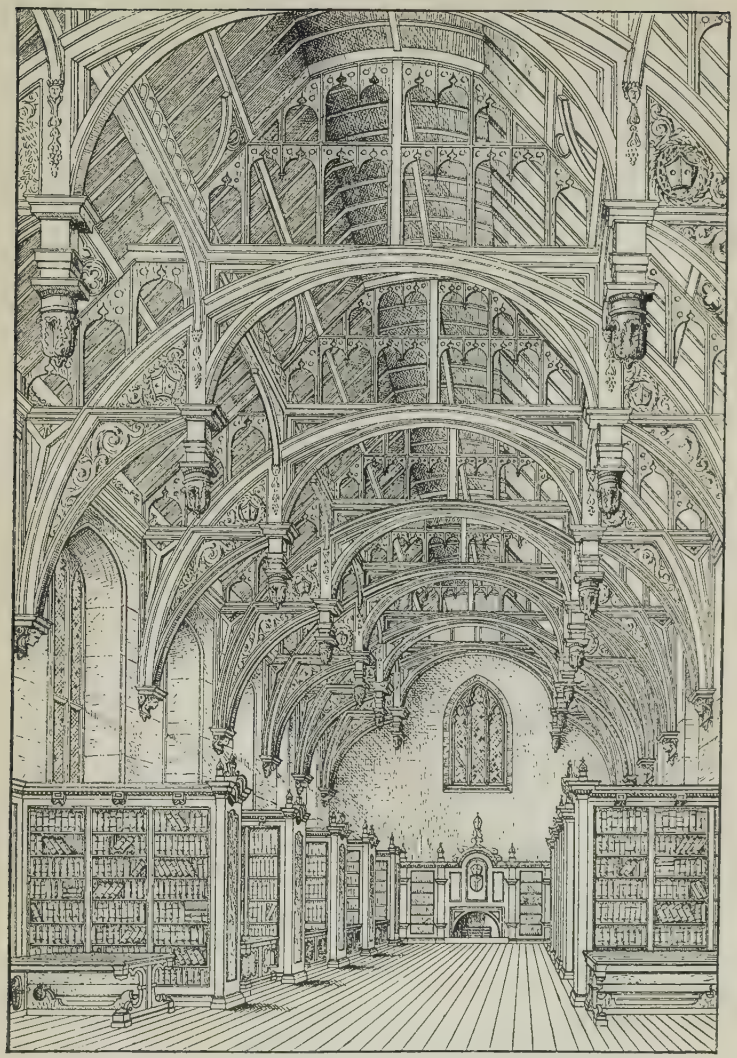
[3] Sir N. Harris Nicholas used to say that "in winter only men like Captain Parry and his crew could make use of such a place."

CHAPTER IV.

The Library.

The 30,000 and more volumes which fill these handsome shelves, do not represent a very ancient appanage of the See; even though it can boast a greater antiquity than the Library at the British Museum, with its more than a million and a quarter of printed books, and about 50,000 volumes of manuscripts. It was not till the year 1753 that the far-famed collection which Sir Hans Sloane had made passed from private into public hands; and that really formed the nucleus of the great National Library: whereas Lambeth had received her great literary legacy nearly 150 years before. To Archbishop Bancroft it is indebted for the first collection of books which was to become a permanent possession of the See; of which Aubrey[1] says that a large portion of them had belonged to Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, the once powerful favourite of Elizabeth; a tradition which has

[1] Survey of Surrey, vol. v. p. 277.



The Great Hall, now the Library.

certainly some support in the fact that the name and arms of Leicester appear in several of the volumes which formed part of Bancroft's original bequest.

Primates before him had been men of equal and even greater learning, and had doubtless possessed extensive collections of books. Chicheley, it would seem, could boast of a library.[1] Bourchier, the son of a man who was one of the most active promoters of printing in this country, may be reasonably accredited with literary tastes. Morton certainly had more of the politician and the statesman than the scholar: but Warham, the great patron of literature, would assuredly surround himself with the works of those who had gone before, and still more of the men whose labours he so liberally encouraged. Cranmer was himself a scholar of rare powers. Yet nothing is known of their libraries. When we come to Parker, the munificent patron of learning, we can trace the library he so loved to its destination: his "choice and invaluable MSS." he bequeathed to Bene't College (Corpus Christi), Cambridge, "*his nurse*."[2] Laud, again, divided his books between the Bodleian Library and St John's, Oxford, of which Col-

[1] Archbishop Chicheley's Register, ii. f. 57, as under date Feb. 12, 1419, has the following entry: "Hen. Chichele in libraria sua infra manerium suum de Lambhith, &c.," quoted in Ducarel's Lambeth Palace, p. 47, n.

[2] So Strype renders it — Life of Parker (folio ed. 1711), p. 518; the express words of his Will are—"ubi primos progressus in literis fecerem." —Ibid., Appendix, p. 187.

lege he had been successively Scholar, Fellow, and President. Sancroft had actually arranged all his books on the shelves at Lambeth,[1] and in an early Will he designed them as a legacy to his successors: but on his expulsion from the See he transferred them all to his old College (Emmanuel) at Cambridge; while Wake bestowed his, some 5500 volumes, besides 200 MSS., with a collection of nearly 7000 coins, on Christ Church, Oxford; fearing, it is said, that Gibson, who was then Bishop of London, would be his successor at Lambeth.

Thus many before Bancroft, and some since, willed their collections of books either to a favourite college, or to some friend,[2] or even to be dispersed under the hammer among the *literati* of the day. So the library at Lambeth, to adopt John Evelyn's simile at even a later date, ebbed and flowed, like the Thames running by it, with every Prelate.[3] Bancroft's legacy served as the dam by which at least a certain volume of the literary stream was pent up and preserved, while beyond this it would rise more or less with each successive Primate. How carefully its future safety was provided for, is evinced by the terms of Bancroft's

[1] D'Oyly's Life of Sancroft, vol. i. p. 465; vol. ii. pp. 97, 98.

[2] Archbishop Howley left the great bulk of his to his domestic chaplain and friend, the Venerable Benjamin Harrison, Archdeacon of Maidstone, and a fitting place has been found for them in the old Chapter Library at Canterbury, now restored, and designated "Bibliotheca Howleiana." In the days of the Priory of Christ Church, this building was the Prior's Chapel, the Monastic Library occupying the chamber above it.

[3] Evelyn's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 247: letter to Pepys, dated 1688.

Will, in which he bequeaths it thus: "I give all my books in my study over the Cloisters unto my successors and to the Archbishops of Canterbury successively and for ever," subject to certain conditions[1] to be drawn up by his successor, to guard against any possible attempt to alienate them from the See—"otherwise I bequeath them all to his Majesty's Colledge to be erected at Chelsey,[2] if it be erected within these six years; or otherwise I give and bequeath them all to the publique library of the University of Cambridge."

That condition once saved it; for when, after Laud's imprisonment, the Palace was taken possession of by the Parliamentarians, the Library was in great danger. A rumour of this evidently reached Laud in the Tower; for early in November 1642 he petitioned that, "as his house at Lambeth is taken for some public service, the Library there and his own study of books may be placed in security."[3] In consequence of this representation no doubt, the order was passed on the 23d of the following December, "that Mr Glyn, Mr Whitlock, and Mr Hill, or any two of them, should take

[1] These conditions were drawn up by no less brilliant a legal luminary than Sir Francis Bacon, at the request of Archbishop Abbot, and at the command of James I.

[2] The original design to which this Legacy refers, for the establishment of a College devoted to the study of controversial Divinity, was never carried out, so that the claim to Bancroft's books lapsed. "Chelsea Hospital" was not founded till 1682.

[3] MS. Journal of the House of Lords, Nov. 9, 1642; History of Laud's Troubles and Trial (folio, 1695), pp. 64, 197.

care for the securing of the public Library belonging to the See of Canterbury; the books, writings, evidences, and goods, in Lambeth House, and to take the keys into their custody."[1] Yet the responsibility seemed to weigh as an incubus on the mind of Parliament; for when Dr Leighton was placed in charge of the prisoners who were being poured into Lambeth House, he claimed the books and everything belonging to the Archbishop.[2]

In the following October a subsequent Order made over the charge to Dr Wincocke:[3] even this, however, did not set their minds at rest, so in the October of 1644 a further Order was passed, giving the Library to Sion College.[4] But it was evident that, amid all these changes and movings, the books were gradually disappearing: some were found in the comparatively safe hands of Thurloe, Secretary of State under Cromwell—for Thurloe was a man of letters and of high principle; but others had been abstracted by men like that "pulpit buffoon," as Dugdale calls him, Hugh Peters, Cromwell's favourite Chaplain. Then, happily, John Selden interfered: who, though a Parliamentarian, was among the noblest and wisest of that party, himself a man of learning and a great collector of books, as the "Selden End" of the Bodleian Library at Oxford testifies. He saw the danger to which these

[1] History of Laud's Troubles and Trial, Dec. 23, 1642, p. 198.
[2] Ibid., May 9, 1643, p. 203.
[3] A Perfect Diurnal, &c., October 3, 1643.
[4] Whitelock's Memorials, p. 106.

literary treasures were exposed, and pressed upon the University of Cambridge to assert its reversionary claim; and thus the Library was saved. Several of the missing volumes were recovered, and the whole collection transferred to the safe custody of the University. During the Primacy of Sheldon it was restored to Lambeth, and has formed the nucleus round which bequests and gifts have centred ever since.

But valuable, and in some points unrivalled, as is the collection of printed books here presented to the eye, it must be remembered that out of sight, stowed away in a separate fire-proof room, are volumes upon volumes of still greater value—Registers, Court-rolls, Charters, and miscellaneous documents connected with the See, and other Manuscripts, embracing centuries of English Church history, which really form the distinctive and most valuable portion of the Archiepiscopal Library.

First let us speak of the REGISTERS. Every English diocese has preserved more or less complete records of the transactions of the See. Some date from a more remote period than others: those of Lincoln claim the greatest antiquity, beginning with the episcopate of Hugh de Wells in 1209;[1]

[1] Dr Ducarel, in a MS. Letter to Archbishop Herring, inserted in the first volume of his Index to Peckham's Register, and quoted by Bishop Gibson in the Preface, p. 13, to his Codex, &c., says that the Lincoln Registers should date from the Conquest, and form an unbroken series from Remigius de Feschamps to the present day; but that the earlier ones were borrowed by Archbishop Wake, and never returned; and he suggests that they might have gone astray among that Archbishop's MSS. to Christ Church

those of Worcester with Bishop Giffard in 1268; while those at Lambeth only date back to John Peckham in 1279, in the reign of Henry III.

All the Registers of the earlier Archbishops are believed to have been carried to Rome by Kilwardby; and neither the demands made by the energetic Peckham,[1] nor the efforts of subsequent Primates, have availed to recover them—the plea being that they are not forthcoming there. Nor is the Lambeth series quite so complete as that of Lincoln or of Worcester, which are only broken during the Commonwealth. Here those of the Archbishops Simon de Meopham, John Stratford, and Thomas Bradwardine are wanting, making a gap between the years 1328 and 1349: these also appear to have been taken to Rome by Bradwardine when he resigned the See,[2] and have never been restored.

Library; but through the courtesy of the Rev. Prebendary Wickenden, in charge of the Lincoln Muniments, the author is able to remove this imputation, and explain the mystery of the supposed loss. A book was borrowed by the Archbishop, by him called "Registrum Antiquissimum," which did find its way to Christ Church; but it was not a Register—only a volume of copies of Charters, &c., of the thirteenth century; and it has been long since restored to the Lincoln Chapter Library.

[1] Peckham's Register (Lambeth MSS.), f. 152. His letter to Rome is a grand specimen of outspoken remonstrance. After acknowledging with thanks some articles which, when sold at Kilwardby's death at Rome, had been bought, and were said to be on their way to England as a present to the See of Canterbury, he says: "At quidem miror valde quod Camerarius S. Memoriæ domini N. Papæ bona ipsa diversorum generum, quæ ultra summam quinque millia marcarum dictus prædecessor noster de bonis Cant. ecclesie secum tulit, in suis vel mercatorum manibus, quæ nobis et ecclesiæ forsitan restituisset aliquo tempore, si vixisset, taliter sequestravit ut sic a manibus nostris crudeliter elongentur, . . . et circa hoc non quærimus pecuniam sed justitiam."

[2] On being made a Cardinal he resigned this for the wealthier see of Portua.

With that exception, and the period of the Commonwealth, the series is complete to the present time. For more than a century the series at Lambeth ceased with Potter, all later Registers being preserved in the Prerogative Court; but these also have been lately brought to Lambeth, and are now complete to the death of Archbishop Longley.

In early days these Registers were preserved in the Priory Church of St Gregory at Canterbury; and the date of their transfer to Lambeth is unknown. Here they were for years piled away in the spacious room over the gateway in Morton's Tower, which is still known as the "Record Room" or "Muniment Room;" but in the extensive alterations made by Archbishop Howley in 1829, the present more convenient and safer room was arranged for their reception at the south end of Juxon's Hall, over the arch leading into the main courtyard.

Of these Registers Dr Ducarel[1] says: "The Records of the See of Canterbury afford fuller information upon most heads, not only than the Records of any other See, but more than the Records of all the other Sees put together, as containing the whole exercise of Metropolitical as well as ordinary jurisdiction through a long series and succession of Archbishops: not to mention a vast variety of other matters relating to the government of the Church, which I doubt will be sought for in

[1] His letter to Archbishop Herring already referred to, p. 64, n.

vain in the Records of any private See." And again: "The Registers of your See, my Lord, are much talked of and little known. Whenever they are, and not before, a good History of the Church of England may be compiled by any person of discernment who will go to them as the Fountain-head of Truth, entire and unmixed." Here are recorded not only the transactions of the Diocese or the Province, such as Consecrations, Inductions, Monitions, Homages, &c., of successive Primates, but also State documents bearing on great national events. Among them are Papal Bulls, scattered over the several volumes, of the deepest interest in the ecclesiastical world; while no less than 122 are bound up separately in two volumes dating from the days of Alexander III. (1155) to those of Clement VII. (1534). Here are also, interspersed with other matter, Letters to Popes and to Cardinals, and also to Kings; Wills, too, of many eminent and distinguished men. Such a mass of documentary lore would more than justify the strong terms in which Ducarel describes the importance of these Records.

Yet he was the first to realise their full value. Librarians who had preceded him were content to extract from their deep recesses such data as met their own needs; but to the outer world each of these Registers remained a sealed book. Without classification or order, beyond something like chronological arrangement, they were utterly inac-

cessible to the general reader—a very mine of literary wealth lying practically buried and useless, for lack of the means by which it could be brought to the surface and utilised. Truly did Archbishop Herring, writing in 1754, describe what these records then were, and what they might be made, when he said, "They are now a treasure; and a good Index would convert them into ready cash."[1] And to Dr Topham's recommendation to Archbishop Herring was Lambeth really indebted for the man who may fairly rank as its greatest benefactor, Andrew Coltee Ducarel; for, as with a magician's wand,—save only that the work, instead of being instantaneously effected, was the achievement of years of labour,—did Ducarel give the stamp of currency to that mass of hitherto unworked ore, by a most elaborate and complete Index of these Registers, embracing every entry, however short and seemingly unimportant.

Nor were these Registers the only part of the Lambeth treasures on which Ducarel left his mark. Besides these, there were also boxes and bags filled with parchment rolls, containing Miscellaneous Records connected with the See—*Rotuli* (Court-rolls), *Chartæ* (Charters), *Computus Ballivorum* (bailiffs' or stewards' accounts), ranging from the reign of Edward I. to that of James I., and

[1] Letter to Dr Topham, who had been Master of the Faculties and Judge of the Prerogative Court at York.—Nichols's Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century, vol. vi. p. 394.

capable of throwing light on the minutest details of social and domestic life between the thirteenth and seventeenth centuries. Here, too, the hand of the indefatigable Ducarel may be traced. He deciphered and catalogued these miscellaneous piles of parchment. One copy of this most laborious catalogue is in the Library itself; and a copy of it, written also chiefly by his own hand, is preserved in the British Museum.[1] Yet it must be admitted that this latter portion of his unwearying labours is less full and satisfactory than his great work on the Registers, and has been quite recently supplemented and completed by an expert from the State Paper Office, under whose practised eye and hand these also, by being more fully indexed and calendared, now offer greater facilities for examination, and present a comparatively new field for inquiry and research to the student of ecclesiastical and social life in the Middle Ages.

These Registers and Court-rolls may be regarded as the "Lambeth Records proper"—for they have ever been the property of the See, and refer almost exclusively to matters more or less directly connected with it; and yet so wide is their range, that they are of national importance and interest, according to the already quoted opinion of the learned Ducarel.

Allusion has been made to the break which occurs in these Registers in the middle of the

[1] Cole's Additional MSS., No. 1606.

seventeenth century, from 1633[1] to the appointment of Juxon in 1660. A similar *lacuna* appears in all Diocesan Registers throughout England; for when the fell Ordinance of Parliament swept away all the Bishops, it of course closed all their Registers; their functions were suspended—there was nothing to record. But in one way Lambeth has fared better than the rest: in them all there remains the *hiatus;* here, and here only, are preserved other records which help, if not to fill up the gap, to supply at least some contemporary information of great value; which, while they openly proclaim the system of spoliation then adopted in the name of religion, reveal also some attempts made by these legalised spoliators to remedy a few of the evils, if not to redress any of the wrongs, resulting from their action,—records, too, which proved of great ulterior use, as will be explained.

Here are volumes of "Parliamentary Surveys of Church Lands," the result of inquiries instituted by a body called in mockery the "Crown Commissioners," but really creatures of Parliament. They contain a mass of information respecting the value, condition, and distribution of all Church lands during that troublous period. These volumes had, like the Library itself, a few years later, a very narrow escape from destruction. They were stowed away in an office in Broad Street, in the City,

[1] Laud actually exercised his functions till 1643; but it is probable that the Registers during the later years were seized by his enemies and destroyed.

when, in the excitement of the Restoration, a turbulent rabble broke in and were ransacking them. By an Order of the House of Commons, dated 6th August 1660, it was required that all that had been abstracted should be recovered, and the whole "delivered unto the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, who is desired to take care for the preservation thereof."[1] So they came to Lambeth. And here they served a purpose which, in their original design, was never contemplated: they greatly facilitated the restitution to the Church of all the property of which she had been then spoiled; while, for all historians of that period, they have preserved a mass of data of incalculable interest and importance. Besides these are several volumes recording the "Augmentation of all Benefices for the maintenance of Preaching Ministers," based on these "Surveys;" and others containing the "Presentations to Benefices, Leases of Church Lands," &c., &c., under the Commonwealth.

Here may be noticed, as being similar in character, though properly coming under a subsequent head, six volumes, entitled 'Notitiæ Parochiales.'[2] These contain Returns made in the year 1705, by the Incumbents themselves, of the value and condition of their respective parishes. The history of these volumes is interesting. To a Brief[3] issued

[1] Todd's Catalogue of Lambeth MSS., p. 269.

[2] Lambeth MSS., numbered 965.

[3] *Briefs*, which are mentioned in the rubric of the Communion Service after the Nicene Creed, were Letters Patent or Licences, issued by the

for a collection for the rebuilding of All Saints' Church at Oxford, Mr Harley, then Secretary of State (aftewards Earl of Oxford), appended a series of questions to be answered by the clergy of the smaller parishes of England. Answers were returned from only 1606 parishes. The information thus obtained seems to have never been utilised; probably because Mr Harley resigned his office the following year. These papers, being left in loose sheets, and having somehow escaped from the often too close security of official pigeon-holes, were in danger of being destroyed or lost, when Archbishop Secker, hearing of them, purchased all he could find, 1579 in number, and had them bound and deposited in the Library.[1]

From these we pass to the extensive collections of miscellaneous MSS., which here, as in the great national treasure-house, the British Museum, are distinguished by the names of their respective collectors. But first among them comes a very large group, extending over nearly 600 volumes, which forms a connecting-link between the two classes. These are designated by Dr Todd "Codices MSS. Lambethani;" and though they have little or no distinct relation to the See

Court of Chancery in the name of the King, for making collections for the repair of churches, &c., and were sent to every parish. This mode of raising funds became grievously abused by men "farming" them, who were called brief-jobbers. It was therefore discontinued; and "King's Letters," for the Incorporated Societies, were for some years substituted for them.

[1] Appendix to Ducarel's Lambeth Palace, p. 137.

of Canterbury, as the Registers and Court-rolls have, they form a very important part of its literary possessions. The former constitute its chronicles, and in some sort its title-deeds, for many generations; while these latter will rank among its richest and most precious heirlooms. Of the more noteworthy of these, particular mention will be made presently. For the first printed catalogue of them, as also of the whole collection of MSS., the Library is indebted to the industry of Dr Todd, who filled the post of Librarian in the early part of the present century. This catalogue, which is now very rare, contains a detailed account of every MS., while the Preface to it conveys a most interesting insight into their general character.

He thus classifies them:—

1st, The *Lambeth* MSS., of which we have already spoken; these extend over no less than 576 volumes.

2d, The *Wharton* MSS., over 18 volumes, from Nos. 577 to 595.

3d, The *Carew* MSS., 42 volumes, from Nos. 596 to 638.

4th, The *Tenison* MSS., no less than 289 volumes, from Nos. 639 to 928.

5th, The *Gibson* MSS., 13 volumes, from Nos. 929 to 942.

6th, *Miscellaneous* MSS., 231 volumes, from Nos. 943 to 1174.

7th, The *Manners Sutton* MSS., 46 volumes, from Nos. 1175 to 1221.

Each of these groups is of importance enough to demand a brief notice; and the intrinsic value of some of them will be enhanced by a knowledge of the circumstances under which they were collected and brought together here. It will be seen that of these 1200 volumes and more, nearly half have been the gradually accumulating inheritance of the See from very early times; while nearly all the remainder have really been collected by two Archbishops—Tenison and Manners Sutton: for as to those which, for convenience, are distinguished as Whartonian and Gibsonian, the Library was almost as directly indebted to Tenison for them as it was for that colossal collection which bears his own name; and the great mass of the later additions were due to the liberality of Manners Sutton.

The first in order is that which bears the name of *Wharton*. Henry Wharton (of whom a fuller account will be given when we come to speak of the Librarians), though he died at the early age of 31, had held the office of Librarian under three successive Primates, Sancroft, Tillotson, and Tenison. The great mass of documents, transcripts, extracts, notes, on which he had based his 'Anglia Sacra,' were arranged under the title of *Collectanea*, and bequeathed by him to his last patron and friend, Archbishop Tenison, by whom they were

presented to Lambeth Library, and now appear worthily under the name of the Librarian who collected them, and not under that of the book-loving Primate by whom they were really presented.

The *Carew* MSS. come next to be spoken of, and hold a very important place in this collection. They originally consisted of 72 volumes, of which only 42 are now at Lambeth. Of the missing 30, six have been discovered among the Laudian MSS. in the Bodleian; but of the fate of the others nothing is known. Their value consists in their bearing upon a particular subject—the history of Ireland; beginning with the conquest of that country in the reign of Henry II., and continuing to the wars in the province of Munster in the reign of Elizabeth, and the administration of Ulster under James I.

They were collected under peculiarly favourable circumstances by Sir George Carew—afterwards Earl of Totnes—during the time that he held the office of Lord Deputy of Ireland; his object being to gather materials for writing a history of that country. Not living to carry out this intention himself, he bequeathed this mass of records, extracts, notes, which he had accumulated, to Sir Thomas Stafford, his natural son, who prepared a Digest of them, which he published in 1633 under the title of 'Pacata Hibernia.' The value of this collection seems to be generally acknow-

ledged, as containing an inestimable mass of evidence on the social and political condition of Ireland. Sir Thomas Duffus Hardy and Mr Brewer in their Report have recorded their opinion that they "are unique, and of the greatest value and importance," and that "no faithful history of Ireland can be written until their voluminous contents are made public;" while Professor Stubbs, who was for some time Librarian at Lambeth, declares that "the Carew Papers are more frequently consulted than any other MSS. at Lambeth."[1] How this important collection found its way here is very doubtful. Dr Todd includes them among those for which the Library is indebted to Archbishop Tenison, and supports this view by the statement that Tenison bequeathed them in his Will: but this is inaccurate, for there is no special mention of them in the Archbishop's Will; nor is this generally received tradition supported by other collateral evidence. Indeed such evidence runs directly counter to it. In the three volumes of a catalogue which Sir George Carew himself prepared, is to be found the undoubted signature of Sancroft, proving that they must have been at Lambeth before Tenison's time. Moreover, another tradition exists assigning their introduction

[1] Report on the Carew Papers at Lambeth, by Sir Thomas Duffus Hardy and Rev. J. S. Brewer, pp. 11-13. Of these Papers the portion referring to the period between the years 1515 and 1624 have been calendared, and published in six volumes under the direction of the Master of the Rolls among the State Papers.

here to Laud ; and this receives corroboration from the fact that, of the 30 volumes which are wanting to complete the series, six, as already mentioned, have been found among the MSS. given by Laud to the Bodleian Library at Oxford.

The vast collection, filling nearly 300 volumes, which stands under the name of the *Tenison* MSS., bears testimony to the indefatigable energy of that great bibliophile. In him truly the organ of acquisitiveness must have been largely developed. Wherever he went, he made and left his mark in the shape of a Library,—and also of a school ; for both St Martin's and Lambeth can still boast their "Tenison's Schools," which he erected and endowed. As Vicar of St Martin's-in-the-Fields he collected and left behind him a Parochial Library, which was without its equal in any parish in England. But this, under the plea of its having become obsolete and useless with the change of the public mind and taste, was some years since scattered to the winds under the hammer of the auctioneer! At St Paul's Cathedral, too, with which he was connected for a short time as Archdeacon of London, his name is held in honour as having liberally and largely contributed towards the purchase of a collection of books made by the Rev. Robert Grey, Vicar of Islington, which formed the nucleus of the present Chapter Library; while a third, the largest and most valuable gift of all, collected during the twenty years of his

Primacy, was added by him to that which his predecessor, Bancroft, had founded at Lambeth. For this Library it appears that all his MSS., the most important portion of the gift, were reserved. They embrace a mass of miscellaneous information—"historical, topographical, genealogical, legal, and polemical"—as various, perhaps, as those which comprise the far better known but scarcely more valuable Harleian Collection. The most important of them is probably that portion which contains the Archbishop's own extensive correspondence with the leaders of the different Protestant or Reforming bodies in France, Germany, and Geneva; from which may be obtained the clearest and fullest insight into the real state of religion, and the various phases of religious opinion through which the nations of Europe were passing between the times of the Commonwealth and the Revolution.

Here is a "Black Letter" copy of the XXXIX Articles of 1562, printed by Daye in 1593, to which is appended a memorandum, "Wee, the Byshops and whole Cleargy of the Province of Canterbury, assembled in the Convocation holden at London, upon a publique readinge and deliberate consideration of the sayed Articles on the 10th day of May 1604, have willingly and with one accord consented and subscribed."[1] Then

[1] This volume, of great historic interest, originally belonged to the Library, but had disappeared from Lambeth for many years, and was regarded as lost. Its recovery is thus noted in Dr Todd's Catalogue (No. 879)—"This

follow the Autograph Signatures of the Members of both Houses of Convocation. Among more recent MSS. is one entitled "Jura et Privilegia Clero Anglicano adjudicata," comprising copies of all Records relating to the rights and privileges of the English Clergy, extracted from the Rolls of Parliament between 20th Edward I. and 14th of Edward IV. These were compiled and written out for Laud, and are referred to in his Diary, under the year 1637, as "My book of the Records in the Tower which concern the Clergy, which I got done at my own charge, and have left in my Study at Lambeth for posterity."

Here also are 16 folio volumes of Records, designated "Chartæ Antiquæ et Miscellaneæ," to many of which the original seals are appended. These were strongly bound and indexed at the expense of Archbishop Howley, as a Latin inscription from the pen of Archdeacon Harrison testifies.

The next group, though ranged separately as the *Gibson* MSS., might almost with equal propriety be included under the preceding head; for they, too, were mainly collected by Archbishop Tenison; but not having been already deposited by him in the Library, they passed, by his Will, to his two chief literary friends—Dr Edmund Gibson (who had been his Chaplain and Librarian, and

book was delivered to Archbishop Potter, and by his command deposited in this Library." Its autograph value placed it rightly among the MSS.

was then the Rector of Lambeth), and Dr Benjamin Ibbot, who had succeeded Gibson as Librarian. The latter of these two dying first, in 1725, the whole of the literary bequest of the Archbishop devolved on Dr Gibson, who had meanwhile been promoted to the See of London; and he, having added largely to the collection, left the whole by Will to take their place beside the stupendous MSS. folios of his beloved patron and friend.

Among those which appear under the name of the *Gibson* MSS. are three volumes which must not be passed over without special notice. They are known as the "Bacon," and the "Shrewsbury Papers." Of these, the "Bacon Papers," comprised in two volumes, contain a correspondence, of no little personal and political interest, between Sir Francis Bacon (afterwards Viscount St Albans) and his brother Antony, and other persons of greater note. The history of these papers, and how they found their way to Lambeth, is given at length in Dr Thomas Birch's Preface to his 'Collection of Lord Bacon's Speeches, Letters, &c.,' and may be thus briefly told. While Dr Tenison was yet little known to fame in his quiet Parish of St Peter's Mancroft, Norwich, he had intrusted to him for publication by a college friend, Mr Rawley—descendant of the Dr Rawley who had been Lord Bacon's Chaplain—a large collection of private papers of the great Chancel-

lor; these appeared in the year 1679 under the name of 'Baconiana,' with the editorial initials T. T. Besides these was a mass of other papers, of which he judged that, "they, touching *matters of State*, did tread too near to the heels of truth, and to the times of the persons concerned," to be then given to the world. Dr Tenison's rapid promotion following soon after, left him no leisure to make a close examination and selection of these documents, though they bore upon the private life and feelings of a man whom he so much admired; and thus they remained untouched, and passed, under his Will, among the undisposed-of papers, to Drs Gibson and Ibbot, and were eventually placed, with the other MSS. already mentioned, in the Library at Lambeth, where the industrious Ducarel arranged them in order. Among these are letters to the Earl of Essex and to Lord Burghley; many to the Duke of Buckingham, and the Duke's replies; eight or ten to King James; letters from the King himself, and one from the Queen of Bohemia; some to Count Gondomar, and Gondomar's replies; his letter to Casaubon, in Latin; and a large number between himself and his brother.[1] As a whole, they form a valuable supplement to the vast collection of his Letters among the Harleian MSS.

[1] A selection from them has been printed by Dr Birch, and appears in the fifth and sixth volumes of his edition of Bacon's Works, published in 1826.

as giving an insight into the more private concerns and incidents of his eventful life.

Of the "Shrewsbury Papers" it must be admitted that they are disappointing. A mass of documents under this title, bearing date the latter half of the sixteenth century, not unnaturally leads to the hope of some correspondence between the noble George, Earl of Shrewsbury, and the still more distinguished Robert, Lord Burghley, showing how, on the one hand, the chivalrous Earl Marshal sought to mitigate the trials and sufferings of his royal prisoner, Mary Queen of Scots, and on the other, the powerful Lord High Treasurer was ever jealous for the safety and honour of his royal mistress, Elizabeth; but instead of this, these volumes contain little more than Stewards' accounts of royal and private manors, expenses of journeys, leases, &c., and an occasional Order in Council—a strange medley,—though even these are not without interest, as giving an insight into the daily life and customs of that age.

Then follow what are called the *Miscellaneous* MSS. These 230 volumes may be roughly described as comprising all that were deposited here between the days of Tenison and Manners Sutton. Here are folios rich in contributions from Archbishops Wake, Herring, and Secker; papers bearing on the troublous times through which the French and Vaudois Protestants passed; correspondence held by these Primates themselves

with the leaders of the Foreign Churches and the nobility for the relief of the refugees—explaining, among other objects of international religious history, the circumstances under which the use of the Crypt of Canterbury Cathedral was originally given up to the French refugees in the reign of Elizabeth for worship according to their own Reformed faith. Here, too, is the autograph correspondence between Laud and Bishop Williams, so fully illustrating the state of mind of Churchmen at home as they watched the portentous clouds of the Rebellion gathering around them.

The last series appears under the name of the *Manners Sutton* MSS., and is chiefly remarkable for that collection, in itself a library, which had been made by the distinguished Oriental scholar, T. D. Carlyle, Professor of Arabic at Cambridge, and is believed to be unrivalled in the number and variety of Biblical MSS. which he had himself collected in Syria and at Constantinople with the intention of publishing an edition of the Greek Testament as the result of a most careful collation of them all. He fell an early victim to overwork; and all his papers being sold after his death, the Archbishop became their purchaser, and added them to the Library.

Nor have these 1200 and more volumes of MSS., which have been spoken of under their several heads, wanted the friendly aid of the Indexer to render their otherwise unknown treas-

ures accessible to the public. It is indeed remarkable that in the 'General Catalogue of MSS. in England and Ireland,' published in 1697, these in the Lambeth Library have no place;[1] the impression would seem in consequence to have prevailed that up to that time they had remained uncatalogued; and that it is to Dr Todd that the Library is indebted for the first attempt that was made to bring these MSS. treasures within reach of the student.

Dr David Wilkins, who was himself Librarian in the early part of the last century, has no doubt helped to confirm this impression, if we may judge from some expressions used by him in a letter written from "Lambeth House, October 21, 1718," to his friend Dr William Nicholson (afterwards Bishop of Carlisle and of Derry, and ultimately Archbishop of Cashel); for he seems to have been ignorant of, or else to have ignored, the labours of previous Librarians. He describes the MSS. as "yet in great confusion;" "my predecessors" (he goes on to say) "indulging their ease, and taking as little trouble as they could."[2] Yet among those predecessors were the indefatigable Henry Wharton and the scarcely less learned Edmund Gibson, and each of these had, as we know, prepared ela-

[1] This omission is the more remarkable, since Tenison, to whom, as we have seen, this Library was so largely indebted, took an active and influential part in encouraging the publication of that Catalogue.

[2] Bp. W. Nicholson's Correspondence, &c., edited by J. Nichols (1809), vol. ii. p. 479.

borate Catalogues of different parts of the Library. Wharton not only made the first attempt at classifying the MSS., but very carefully catalogued what are now known as the *Codices Lambethani.* This Catalogue is at the present day in the Library, and is spoken of by his biographer[1] as "giving such an instance of his wonderful diligence as cannot easily be paralleled." Considerable mystery, however, seems to hang over the earlier history of this Catalogue: for many years it was undoubtedly missing—either borrowed, or stolen, or mislaid—and when and how it reappeared is equally mysterious; its loss and recovery are alike unrecorded. Yet here it now is, to testify to Wharton's conscientious labours as a Librarian, as the 'Anglia Sacra' does so signally to his powers as a scholar. The temporary loss or absence of this Catalogue may have caused the strictures of Wilkins; yet Dr Todd says, that "Wharton's Catalogue may be considered as the foundation on which all succeeding Catalogues have been formed."

These remarks refer only to the MSS. Of the PRINTED BOOKS a Catalogue appears to have formed a part of the original arrangements for providing for their preservation, and for giving the Library an extended usefulness. Sir Francis Bacon, in carrying out the wishes of James I. that it should "be a monument of fame within his kingdom, and of great use to himself and his successors, as well as

[1] See Preface to Todd's Catalogue of Lambeth MSS., p. ii.

to the Church of God," and that "the custody of the Library might be established, and that, by the negligence of those that came after, so excellent a work might not be frustrated to the hurt of the Church and Commonwealth," had directed that a Catalogue of the books "should be carefully and exquisitely made," a copy of which was to be preserved in the archives of the Dean and Chapter, and the original in the Library at Lambeth, in the hope of binding each successive Archbishop to preserve the Collection intact. This Catalogue would seem to have been but imperfectly amplified to keep pace with the subsequent additions made to the Library; for it is especially noted that Dr Edmund Gibson marked his tenure of office as Librarian by making "a full catalogue of the printed books then there."

To the learned and methodical Dr Todd, however, the Library owed, as has been already said, its first *printed* catalogue, embodying the successive labours of those who had preceded him as Librarian, and completed at the expense of Archbishop Manners Sutton in 1812. The most important addition since made was by Dr S. R. Maitland, who, though confining himself to the works printed before the year 1600—beyond doubt the most valuable part of this collection—has produced a work, to be subsequently noticed, so full and exhaustive as to form a rare repository of historical and typographical learning.

Having spoken of the MSS. under their several heads, and sketched the history of each group, rather than attempted to describe its contents, it will not be out of place here, availing ourselves of the Catalogues and Indexes already mentioned, to bring to special notice some of the more famed and valuable among the works, whether MSS. or printed books, which the Library contains.

Among these grand heirlooms of the See, the place of honour, for antiquity, if not for beauty, must be accorded to a work entitled 'De Virginitate,' by Aldhelm, the distinguished Abbot of Malmesbury and afterwards Bishop of Sherburn —a work of the seventh century. Aldhelm was a Saxon by birth, but would seem to have been in advance of his age and his race; for at a time when the Saxon language was in full force he wrote this work in Latin, being said to have been the first of his nation[1] who mastered what was just beginning to be recognised in England as the language of learning and worship. This copy, judging from the style of the writing, is generally assumed to have been made in the following century, and is supposed, though on what authority it is not stated, to have been the work of no less bright an ornament of that age than Alcuin, himself a Saxon of noble birth, who, in later years, became the friend and counsellor of Charlemagne. If so,

[1] "*Primus ex Anglorum gente erat, juxta Cambdenum, qui Latinè scripsit.*"—Cave's Historia Literaria, vol. i. p. 466.

it presents an interesting connecting-link between his native tongue and the foreign one in which it was written; for several of the letters—*g*, for instance—are formed distinctly on the Saxon type. It contains, as a frontispiece, a quaint representation in outline of the learned bishop, on a somewhat grotesque chair, or *sella*, supposed to be in the act of presenting a copy of his work to the abbess and nuns of the religious house for whose use it was composed.[1]

Ranking second to it in age, being of the ninth century, yet really the most precious of all the manuscript treasures of the Library, is an illuminated copy of the 'Gospels of MacDurnan,' as they are called. An inscription in the fourth page states that the work was either written for, or was in the possession of, Maelbrigid MacDurnan, Abbot of Derry and Bishop of Armagh in the ninth century. It thus bears testimony to the devotion and skill of the monks of "the Holy Island" at a time when Christianity was but at a low ebb in England itself.[2] It is written in Latin, with a letter in Saxon from Archbishop Wulfstan of York to Canute; and its intrinsic

[1] A very rare engraving of this appears as the frontispiece to Todd's Catalogue of the Lambeth MSS.

[2] For a fuller account of this choice work, and, indeed, of all the illuminated gems of this collection, the reader is referred to a very interesting and elaborate work on the 'Art Treasures of the Lambeth Library,' by the present Librarian, S. W. Kershaw, M.A., to which source the writer acknowledges himself to be indebted for much information on this part of his subject.

value is enhanced by the tradition that, as a note on the fly-leaf states, "This MS. was a present from King Athelstan to the city of Canterbury." How, or when, it passed from the Metropolitical City to the Metropolitan's Palace, is unknown.

A Sarum Missal, also of great beauty, has a special interest attaching to it, as having probably been the property of Archbishop Chicheley, whose arms appear on two leaves, richly emblazoned. Another beautiful MS., supposed to be a work of the thirteenth century, of the 'Apocalypse of St John,' with a short Latin exposition, is of great interest, with its nearly eighty brilliantly illuminated representations in fine preservation.

Another MS. of the fifteenth century is of still greater historical value; it is entitled 'The Notable Wise Dictes and Sayings of Philosophers, translated out of French into English, by Anthony Woodville, Earl Rivers, finished December 24, anno 16 Edward IV.' Of this curious work the Library possesses two copies in different forms, the one in manuscript, the other printed. The former, a work of great beauty, is written in a fair, regular, and even a Roman hand, as if it were printed; and has prefixed a fine illumination said[1] to represent the Earl introducing Caxton the printer to King Edward IV., in the presence of the Queen, the Duke of York, his infant son, afterwards Edward V., and many others of the

[1] Ducarel's Lambeth Palace, p. 60; though this is doubted.

nobility. The colours in this little picture are beautifully vivid, and the drawing of considerable merit for the age.[1] It has much historical value, as containing what was long regarded as the only authentic likeness of Edward V. now extant; as such it was engraved by Vertue in his series of the English Monarchs; nor has the subsequent discovery of a likeness of him in the east window of the church at East Malvern,[2] and the rude painting on the screen in Windsor Chapel, robbed this exquisite illuminated page of its pre-eminent distinction as the true representation of the ill-fated young king.

The printed copy is of much interest, as being one of the earliest issues from Caxton's own press, (*circa* 1490). In it Caxton has, in a preface of his own composition, pointed out with much dry humour certain omissions made by the noble author on the subject of women, and suggests as an explanation of such omissions, that the Earl doubtless thought that, however much the nations of Greece might be benefited by such salutary admonitions, the ladies of England did not need them; "they," he says, "be right good, wise,

[1] It has been engraved for Walpole's Royal and Noble Authors.

[2] The figures of the King, the Prince, and the Duke of York also appear in the great north window of the west transept over the "Martyrdom" in Canterbury Cathedral. This window was presented by Edward IV. himself; and is the one regarding which the story is told that the Puritan preacher, Richard Culmer, mounted a ladder to break, as he said, "Becket's glassy bones." Traces of his mutilation still remain in the window; but the figures of the royal family have been recently repaired.

pleasant, humble, discrete, sober, chaste, . . . and virtuous in all their works, *or at least should be so.*"

Another and even earlier work of Caxton's is to be found here, the 'Confessio Amantis' of the poet Gower, bearing the well-known monogram and the word "Westminster," and has been pronounced by Dr Dibdin to be the finest extant.

Here is also another volume of still earlier date, from a foreign press. It is thus described: "A most uncommon book on vellum, without date, printed at Paris, with very ancient Gothic types, containing thirty-five very beautiful illuminations, representing 'The Daunce of Machabre' (commonly called Death's Dance), with French explanatory verses." This is supposed to be printed from a French MS. translated by Lydgate, the poetic monk of Bury,[1] who flourished in the time of Henry VI.

One volume in this Library supplies a singular link between the *scriptorium* of the monastery and the press of the printer, connecting the manuscripts among which it long ranked,[2] with the earliest specimens of typographic art. It is the New Testament portion of the Vulgate Version; and is a copy of what was known as the 'Mazarine Bible,' a name given to it from the fact of one copy having been found in the library of the great Cardinal statesman. It was always regarded

[1] Botfield's Notes on the Cathedral Libraries, p. 253.

[2] Even Todd in his Catalogue describes it as a MS.

as a *manuscript* of exquisite workmanship. Its general character, its finely illuminated capitals and rich ornamentation, the vellum, too, ruled with horizontal and perpendicular lines, such as were in use among the earlier copyists, all helped to confirm this impression; as also did the most primitive boldness of the type, closely resembling the hand-formed characters of the laborious scribe: but on closer examination it was discovered to be a *printed* book, and nothing less than a copy—perfect so far as it goes, but containing only the New Testament—of the 'Guttenberg Bible.'[1] It is a large folio, on vellum, and is considered to be the earliest printed edition of the Bible known. It bears date 1455, twenty years before Caxton's first printed book made its appearance in England.

So vast and varied is this accumulation, representing centuries of research, and centuries many more of labour, that it would be impossible to describe all even of the most noteworthy of these literary gems. Here is the 'Codex Ephesinus' containing the Four Gospels in Greek; a beautiful copy of St Jerome's Version; a very ancient French Version and Exposition of the Apocalypse, ornamented with miniature paintings; and a Latin copy also beautifully illuminated, and admitted by no less an authority than Mr Astle, to be a work of the thirteenth century; Latin Psalters, too,

[1] So called because it came from the press of Guttenberg and Fust at Mentz.

several of them of great beauty; and one with an interlinear Saxon Version of the tenth century. Of English translations of the Bible, here is an undoubted copy of Wickliffe's Version of the Old and New Testament; another written apparently late in the fourteenth or beginning of the fifteenth century; while Missals are in abundance; a very beautiful one of the Church of Limoges; and also the very elegant one of the 'Sarum Use,' noticed above, which was once the property of Archbishop Chicheley.

Mention has been already made of the very large body of MSS. of the New Testament—Greek, Syriac, Arabic, and Armenian—which were collected by the learned Professor Carlyle, for the purpose of collation; on whose death, *re infectâ*, the entire collection was purchased by Archbishop Manners Sutton. They are believed to have proved of great use to more than one of the members of the present Revision Commission. There is also a volume at the end of the *Miscellaneous* MSS. which bears witness to the individual labours of research and criticism of one of the occupants of the Metropolitan See, whose fame during life was rather that of a preacher than of a scholar or a divine, Archbishop Secker. Speaking of this work, Mr Black says:[1] "Its peculiar

[1] In a paper read at Lambeth in 1856, at a meeting of the Surrey Archæological Society, quoted in Tanswell's History of Lambeth, p. 58. Perhaps some sober-minded critics may pronounce this to be exaggerated praise.

value is such as especially to interest those who long for a scientific correction of the original text of the Hebrew Scriptures, and for a thorough revision of the Authorised Version. No place in the world" (he goes on) "contains a nobler monument of Biblical scholarship, or more precious contributions to sacred literature, than the private closet where are deposited Secker's interlarded Hebrew and English Bibles, and voluminous notes and disquisitions on passages of Scripture. When it is considered that Secker projected and promoted Kennicott's great collations, and anticipated by his sound critical judgment many of the results of examinations of Hebrew MSS. which he had never seen; and when we find under what vast obligations Bishop Lowth, Archbishop Newcome, and others have been to his unpublished MSS., it must be admitted that this single article deserves more notice than if it applied to a single volume. It is a library in itself."

Here, too, is a volume entitled 'Christian Prayers and Meditations,' which, indeed, can boast of no artistic value, yet may lay claim to much historical interest, as having belonged to Queen Elizabeth. Its history has been thus traced: it bears the date 1569, and was printed by the celebrated John Daye, who was employed by Parker at Lambeth. A MS. note on the fly-leaf says that from Elizabeth's days to those of Cromwell it was kept in a wardrobe at Whitehall, when it fell into

private hands. Botfield[1] says it eventually came into the hands of Queen Anne, by whom it was presented to Tenison, and so found its way into Lambeth Library.

Of the great mass of printed books it would be impossible to give in these pages any adequate description. Nor is it necessary. The student's need is amply supplied as regards the earlier volumes by Dr Maitland's exhaustive Index, and a Catalogue of the later publications is now in course of preparation by the present energetic Librarian.

There is one other volume, however, ranked indeed among the MSS., which may not be passed over unnoticed — Archbishop Parker's 'Historia de Antiquitate Britannicæ Ecclesiæ.' This is a unique copy. Its intrinsic value as a work of profound scholarly research is enhanced by a very large collection of original charters, letters, notes, &c., distributed throughout and bound up in it.[2] The copy in the Cambridge University Library is believed to be the only other perfect one of the first edition in existence; and it of course lacks all the valuable MSS. additions.

[1] Botfield's Cathedral Libraries, p. 253.

[2] Ducarel adds to the interest which centres in this volume by telling us, "It had been missing ever since the year 1720, as appears by Dr Wilkins's Catalogue (where it is noted as *Wanting*). The Lord Bishop of Durham, Dr Trevor, having had the good fortune to find it in the Sunderland Library, recovered it, and was generously pleased, in May 1757, to present it to the late Archbishop Hutton for the use of the Lambeth Library."—History of Lambeth Palace, Appendix, p. 40.

Nor may we omit to note two copies of the Koran—one of which demands special mention from its historic value, and from the circumstances under which it was deposited in this Library. It has been pronounced by no less an authority than Claudius Buchanan, the zealous Oriental scholar, but better known as the Missionary-hearted Bengal Chaplain, to be "the most valuable Koran of Asia." In the first cover page of the work itself appears the heading, *Alcoran Mohammedis Arabice. In initio Codicem commendant hæc verba.* "This book is presented by the College of Fort-William, in Bengal, with permission of Richard, Marquis Wellesley, Governor-General of India, to the Most Reverend Charles Manners Sutton, Archbishop of Canterbury, for the Archiepiscopal Library at Lambeth Palace." Then follows an extract from Dr Buchanan's letter to Archbishop Manners Sutton, in which he gives the history of the volume :—

"This valuable copy of the Mohammedan Koran in folio, beautifully ornamented with paintings and oriental enamel, was written by the pen of Sultaun Allavuddeen Siljuky about four hundred years ago. It has descended to these times in the line of Emperors, and was found in the library of Tippoo Sultan at Seringapatam, after the reduction of that capital by the British armies. By depositing the most valuable Koran of Asia in the ancient library of the Archbishop of Canter-

bury, the College of Fort-William would intimate that the sway of the East, once usurped by the Arabian impostor, has now reverted to a Christian power; and would express the hope that, in return for this volume of emblazoned delusion, the Church of England will exhibit to all nations the dutiful act so long expected, and send forth to the inhabitants of Asia the true revelation of God.—C. BUCHANAN, *Vice-Provost.*

"COLLEGE OF FORT-WILLIAM,
20th November 1805."[1]

There is some difficulty in identifying the Imperial scribe, according to the description here given. Sultan Alí-ed-dín, to whom it is traditionally ascribed, could not have been a Seljukí, for none of that race ever had footing in India. It was most probably the work of Alí-ed-dín, the last of the Syed Sultans of Delhi, who was expelled by the Afghan house of Lodi about 1450. These Syeds, claiming to be lineal descendants of the Prophet, and being the hereditary Scribes and Levites of Islam, one of their number, though an ex-Sultan, might not inappropriately occupy his dethroned leisure in copying the Koran.

Such, though cursorily described, are some of the contents of this noble Library. Here are treasures of medieval art on which the *savant* will

[1] The entire letter is given in Dean Pearson's Life of Buchanan, vol. i. pp. 368-378.

dwell with rapture, while the mere *dilettanti* idlers, and the most superficial sight-seers, will find no ordinary pleasure in glancing over the beauties they contain. Here are folios, priceless and matchless, old Registers and Records, and still older Manuscripts, as well as documents of later date, public and private, which form a collection such as, for historical value, even the British Museum cannot surpass. Here is a fountain-head at which the real student of the history of the English Church can drink deeply. And perhaps it is the Biblical scholar who will find here the richest reward for his labours in the Manuscripts of the New Testament, little known and therefore little used, in which this library is so rich.

CHAPTER V.

The Librarians.

Any account of Lambeth Library and its contents would be incomplete without some notice of the distinguished men who have been connected with it as Librarians; for among them are some who hold no ignoble place in the literature of the country.[1] Like the portrait-gallery close by, which begins its series so worthily with the far-famed Holbein of Warham,[2] Lambeth places first on its list of regular Librarians the name of Henry Wharton, "the youthful pride of Cambridge," the favourite pupil of the great Newton, "the favourite chaplain of Sancroft."[3] Though he died at

[1] For the order in which the earlier ones came we are indebted to a list given by Ducarel (Lambeth Palace, pp. 63-76), and a later one by Todd in the preface to his printed Catalogue; while one by W. D. Thoms in Notes and Queries, 4th series, vol. i. pp. 48-50, January 1868, brings it down to that date.

[2] Those of Chicheley and Arundel are not ignored; but, as will appear under the head of the Portrait-Gallery, even Chicheley's is doubtful as being a genuine likeness, while Arundel's is generally pronounced to be a fiction.

[3] As a mark of favour Sancroft ordained him priest with his own hands, which is said to have been "the only instance, perhaps, of an ordination by

the early age of thirty-one, this "prodigy of learning" had in that short young life attained an eminence which it is granted but to very few to reach, even at the close of a prolonged manhood of labour. That colossal work the 'Anglia Sacra,' and the Appendix to Cave's 'Historia Literaria,' had already been given to the world, before Wharton received the post of Chaplain and Librarian, which Sancroft conferred on him in 1688. This office he retained under Tillotson and Tenison; the latter of whom had indeed been one of his earliest friends. He published many treatises of more ephemeral character and lesser note—yet of great value—of which it is impossible here to speak at any length. One work edited by him demands special mention, 'The Troubles and Tryal of Archbishop Laud,' the original MSS. of which Sancroft had bequeathed to him on his deathbed; an act which he himself described as "the most fortunate transaction of his whole life." Barely six months after, he was himself carried to his grave—having only lived to publish the first volume: the second appeared six years later. His body received worthy burial in Westminster Abbey, and was followed to the grave by several bishops, with Archbishop Tenison at their head.[1]

Lambeth Library itself contains but little to

an Archbishop since the Reformation." See "Excerpta," by Dr Birch, from an autobiography of Wharton in MS., in the Lambeth Library, printed in the Appendix to D'Oyly's Life of Sancroft, vol. ii. p. 135.

[1] Life of Wharton, prefixed to his Sermons.

mark his tenure of office—which he held for six years, and that under three Archbishops—beyond the Catalogue already alluded to, and portions of an autobiography in Latin which Secker purchased and deposited here.[1] The adjoining portrait-gallery contains a remarkable likeness of him (the only one known), in which, out of a smooth, boyish, yet thoughtful face, surrounded with long curly hair, beam eyes full of light and fire, indicative of the rare intelligence and energy of his mind. His literary achievements are thus tersely recorded on his monument in Westminster Abbey: "Multa ad agendam et illustrandam Rem Literariam, multa pro Ecclesia Christi, conscripsit; plura moliebatur. Obiit 3 Non. Mart., A.D. MDCXCIV. Ætatis suæ xxxi."

Second on the list Todd places the name of Paul Colomiez, better known in its Latinised form of Colomesius; yet he could only have been an assistant to Wharton; for after Colomiez retired on the deprivation of Sancroft, Wharton still retained the office. He appears to have been a French Protestant, and had been invited over to England by that "strange divine," Isaac Vossius, whom Charles II. had made one of the canons of Windsor. Colomiez was chiefly known as the author of 'Gallia,' 'Italia,' and 'Hispania Orientalis,' containing accounts respectively of French, Italian, and Spanish writers who had been versed in

[1] D'Oyly's Life of Sancroft, see *ante*, p. 99, note 3.

Oriental literature. As Librarian he left behind him no mark.

Dr Edmund Gibson was really Wharton's successor, though there was an interval of six years between the death of the one and the appointment of the other; for Gibson did not occupy the Librarian's chair till 1700. He had already been known as a distinguished Antiquarian and Anglo-Saxon scholar, as well as a Theologian; for he had published his noble edition of 'Camden's Britannia,' and his 'Reliquiæ Spelmaniacæ' before he was taken by the hand by the great *littérateur* Tenison, and received into the Lambeth household as Chaplain and Librarian. Four years after he was appointed Rector of Lambeth, and then Archdeacon of Surrey. Still living under the walls of the Palace, and within reach of the Library, and breathing the very atmosphere of literary life, he undertook his greatest work, the one which, most of all, will perpetuate his memory—'Codex Juris Ecclesiastici Anglicani'—and left behind him, as an invaluable memento of his presence in the Library, the first complete Catalogue of its contents, into which he incorporated the earlier one by Wharton. On the death of his patron and friend, Archbishop Tenison, in 1715, and Bishop Wake's translation to Canterbury, Gibson was appointed to the vacated See of Lincoln, and five years after to that of London. Of him, as of Wharton, the adjoining gallery contains

a portrait, of which an engraving appears in Ducarel's History of the Palace; and a list is there given of his voluminous publications, great and small, thirty-four in number.

As in the case of Wharton, so in that of Gibson, it would seem that, when the accumulated duties of other offices pressed upon him, an assistant or coadjutor Librarian was appointed; for the name of Dr Benjamin Ibbot stands in Dr Todd's list as becoming Librarian in 1704; whereas Gibson's connection with the Library clearly continued till 1715, when he was promoted to the See of Lincoln. Whatever may have been Dr Ibbot's repute among his contemporaries, his appointment as Boyle Lecturer at Cambridge in 1713, as Chaplain also to George I., and still more his selection by Tenison for the Lambeth Library, would imply that he was a man of some mark;[1] though no works of his have come down to us to indicate his fitness to take his place between two such men as Gibson and Wilkins.

For when we come to speak of Dr David Wilkins, we find ourselves brought in contact with another of the giants of learning—a man whose name is associated with such works as 'Novum Testamentum Copticum' (1716), 'Pentateuchus Copticus' (1731), 'Leges Anglo-Saxonicæ Ecclesiasticæ et Civiles' (1721), and 'Concilia Magnæ

[1] Ducarel calls him "an ingenious and learned writer."—Lambeth Palace, p. 70.

Britanniæ' (1736);—one to whose extensive and varied learning the epitaph in Hadleigh Church does no more than justice; "In omni ferè literarum genere versatus fuit." Brief as was Wilkins's connection with the Library — only from 1715 to 1718—the three years sufficed to enable him to complete a good work there, a still fuller Catalogue of all the MSS. and printed books, down to his own time.

His successor was John Ott, a native of Zurich. Intellectual gifts and high literary attainments had raised three at least of his predecessors to what they had helped to make a post of honour. But personal feeling alone seems to have guided the next appointment. Ducarel says that Archbishop Wake had, while on the Continent, in his younger years,[1] "received many civilities" from the father —an influential resident at Zurich—and "remembering his former kindness, had made one of his sons his Librarian."[2]

Mr Ott the elder was a great Rabbinical and Oriental scholar; but the son seemed to inherit none of the qualifications for an office then much sought for by leading scholars and divines of the country. He was great as a numismatist,[3] and

[1] Archbishop Wake had, in early life, been Chaplain to Lord Preston when Envoy Extraordinary at the Court of France, and had been thus brought into contact with the several bodies of Continental Protestants; to which may be traced the desire evinced by him, when Primate, to bring about intercommunion with the English Church.—Chambers's Biographical Dictionary.

[2] Ducarel's Lambeth Palace, p. 74.

[3] Nichols's Literary Anecdotes, &c., vol. i. p. 335.

had made a large collection of coins; and in this he appeared to have a strong congeniality of taste with the Archbishop;[1] on whose death, in 1737, he retired from Lambeth.

His place was, for a short time, from 1737 to 1741, filled by Mr John Jones, of whom little is known save that, as he brought no fame, he left no mark; vacating the post on being appointed to one of the Archbishop's livings in Kent.[2] So, too, the next in order, the Rev. Henry Hall, a Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. He was appointed Librarian in 1747, by Archbishop Potter, and retained the post under Herring; on whose death, in 1757, he retired to his country living at Harbledown. Ducarel says that "his learning and abilities were great, but not superior to his modesty."[3] Yet of his ten years' connection with that noble Library, Lambeth and the literary world alike have nothing to tell.

On the succession of Dr Matthew Hutton to the Primacy, the post of Librarian was at once filled by one who more than restored its prestige. In Andrew Coltee Ducarel the Palace received a man who was regarded as the greatest Antiquarian of his day, and who proved the most useful of all her

[1] See *supra*, p. 61.

[2] "He was ordained deacon on March 14, 1741, created M.A. by the Archbishop on the 15th, ordained priest on the following Sunday, and collated to the vicarage of Postling, in Kent, the day after—a good eight days' promotion."—Ducarel's Lambeth Palace, p. 75.

[3] Ibid.

Librarians. Wharton had been the scholarly historian; Gibson, the profound canonist; Wilkins, the man of many languages—Saxon, Coptic, and Latin; and each in turn laborious in investigating and digesting the successive accumulations of literary treasures deposited in the Muniment-room and Library; but Ducarel supplemented their work: he undertook that which they had left untouched, —those folios of Registers ranging over five centuries he explored and indexed, laying open to the future student what had hitherto been little better than sealed books.[1] Others lived and worked in their several lines for the literary world at large: he, in his own line too, lived and worked, but it was for Lambeth and its hidden treasures, that they might be brought to light. For though he wrote the History of Croydon and of Lambeth, and several smaller Antiquarian treatises, his fame chiefly lives in the Indexes he made to the Lambeth Registers and MSS. And the value of this work is, if possible, enhanced by the recollection of the physical difficulties under which he performed it. Early in life an accident deprived him of the sight of one eye, and that of the other was so imperfect and weak, that he could only see to read at all by holding the page close to his face;[2] yet thousands upon thousands of parch-

[1] The circumstances of Ducarel's appointment are referred to at p. 68.

[2] Nichols's Literary Anecdotes, vol. ix. p. 661. A portrait of him is prefixed to each volume of his Indexes.

ment folios, written in the cramped, crabbed, often almost illegible, characters of the thirteenth and following centuries, did he decipher; and every note and index was written originally in his own large, bold hand (*πηλίκοις γράμμασιν*),[1] — those signs of defective sight bearing witness to the physical labour of his work. During more than thirty years' connection with Lambeth Palace, he was the valued official of no less than five Archbishops[2] —the friend of Herring in 1754, the librarian of Hutton in 1757, as also of Secker, Cornwallis, and Moore, till his death in 1785.[3]

On the death of Ducarel, the Rev. Michael Lort, whom Archbishop Moore had appointed his Chaplain six years before, became Librarian;[4] but with much antiquarian taste and historical knowledge, he seems to have been rather a collector than an author; and so neither the Library itself nor the literary world has retained any traces of his presence. So little, indeed, was his five years' connection with Lambeth known, that Thoms, in

[1] Galatians vi. 11.

[2] Horace Walpole contemptuously sneers at him as "a poor creature" (Walpoliana, i. 73), because, forsooth, he was loath to let him take a copy of the choice illumination in 'the Notable Wise Dictes and Sayings of Philosophers' (mentioned at p. 89) for his proposed work on 'Royal and Noble Authors.' It may be that the profoundly learned Librarian reciprocated the feeling, and justly gauged the literary merits of the brilliant but superficial *dilettante*.

[3] The name of Edward Rowe Mores—not noticed by Todd or by Thoms in their lists—should not be passed over in silence. He was not indeed a librarian, but for some time a very valuable assistant to Ducarel. See Nichols's Literary Anecdotes, vol. vi. pp. 394-396.

[4] Nichols's Literary Anecdotes, vol. ii. p. 594.

his list of Librarians, makes no mention of him as having been one of the number.[1]

The same may be said also of his successor, John Topham, who, like Ducarel, was a layman, and whose deep knowledge of antiquities, and especially of ancient law, had obtained for him an important post in the State Paper Office. He was appointed Librarian on Lort's death in 1790, and died in 1803; yet, like his predecessor, he passed away from Lambeth, and left no mark.

Then came one of far other stamp, Dr Henry John Todd, no unworthy occupant of the chair which even a Ducarel had filled. His Lives of Cranmer and of the Deans of Canterbury, his Commentaries on Spenser and Milton, still live as proofs of his assiduity and research; while his analytical and methodising powers are well known in his edition of 'Johnson's Dictionary,' and were scarcely less shown in the classified and printed Catalogue, already mentioned, of the promiscuous mass of MSS. in the Library which he thus reduced to order. He eventually became Archdeacon of Cleveland; in which post he continued his literary labours.

We now pass to one whose literary life, like that of his great predecessor Ducarel, was mainly identified with Lambeth and its Library. Dr Samuel Roffey Maitland, brought to the notice of Archbishop Howley by his friend Hugh James

[1] Notes and Queries, 4th series, vol. i. p. 50 (Jan. 18, 1868).

Rose, renounced a home of lettered ease at Gloucester in order to revel more freely and fully in the literary banquet presented to him at Lambeth. His literary productions were unhappily but few; 'The Dark Ages' and 'Essays on the Reformation' being the principal among them. One other, which he never lived to finish, must not be passed over unnoticed, though its existence is almost unknown, consisting of annotations and corrections made on the voluminous writings of Strype, which he left in MS. form to the University of Cambridge, where they are still preserved. He regarded his appointment to Lambeth as laying on him the duty of doing all he could to make known to the outer world the real value of the Library intrusted to his keeping. To effect this he compiled and published, in 1843, what he modestly called "A List of some of the early printed books in Lambeth Library;" and two years after, an "Index"—yet in its details far more than a mere Index—"of such ENGLISH BOOKS printed before the year MDC." as are now there. As a biographical production this "Index" is unique: it is a marvel, not only of his industry, but of his varied literary knowledge. The greater portion of these gems of typographical art are arranged in the first compartment in the Hall, in which, shut out from the eye of the general body of sight-seers by a panelled screen, Dr Maitland used to sit and work in the midst of the tomes he so highly prized.

Many still living will, with the writer, endorse the opinion so happily expressed by his old friend Mr Thoms,[1] that "all who frequented the Library while it was under his charge—and probably at no period since it was established was it so much used as during his Librarianship—will be anxious to bear testimony to his anxiety at all times to assist them in their researches, not only by placing the whole resources of the Library at their disposal, but also from his own vast stores of information." With the life of his patron and friend, Archbishop Howley, Dr Maitland's connection with Lambeth ceased, to the great loss and regret of the literary world.

On Bishop Sumner's succeeding to the Primacy he appointed his son-in-law, the Rev. John Thomas, to the joint-offices of Chaplain and Librarian. Under him the paramount and more pressing duties of Chaplain threw those of the Librarian into the background; thus any qualifications he might really have possessed for so important a post had no chance of being brought to light. His tenure of the office began and closed with the primacy of Archbishop Sumner.

Dr Longley, on being translated from York to Lambeth, selected for his Librarian the Rev. William Stubbs, whose already established reputation as a scholar at Oxford, and the antiquarian and historical research attested by his small but invalua-

[1] Notes and Queries, January 18, 1868.

ble 'Registrum Sacrum Anglicanum,' marked him out as peculiarly fitted to fill a post over which Wharton, and Gibson, and Wilkins, and Ducarel had shed such a glory. His five years, from 1862 to 1867, were all too short for the interests of Lambeth; yet long enough to show how contact with those historical treasures was affecting and stimulating his literary taste and powers. From Lambeth he returned to his *Alma Mater* as Regius Professor of Modern History, and Curator of the Bodleian Library, and now worthily holds a Canonry in St Paul's Cathedral; still conferring the benefits of his vast ecclesiastical knowledge on the literature of the day in the publication of the works, little known and rarely accessible, of the medieval chroniclers.

On Dr Stubbs's retirement from Lambeth, the post was conferred on Mr S. W. Kershaw, the present Librarian, whose tastes have prompted him to adopt a line which his predecessors had left open to him, the careful examination of what he happily terms "The Art Treasures" which the Library contains. The results of his labours in this direction have been given to the world in the valuable work on that subject already mentioned; and will further appear in the forthcoming work entitled 'Studies of Lambeth Library.'

CHAPTER VI.

The Guard-Room or Dining-Hall; and its Portrait-Gallery.

Scarcely inferior in the interest of its associations to the Great Hall itself is the Guard-Room, now used as the Dining-Hall. The earlier name is suggestive of times when Primates were feudal Barons and high Law officers of the Crown as well as spiritual Peers; and although Lambeth cannot boast of a Prelate so bellicose as he of Beauvais, who at the battle of Bouvines proved himself capable of wielding the mace as effectively as the crosier, or one like the famous Bishop of Ely who defended his island and his Cathedral against the invading Dane—yet, before Lambeth days, Canterbury had an Archbishop Alphege, who (in 1010) for twenty days defended his city and palace against the same ruthless invaders, only less successfully from the presence of a traitor in his garrison; and Baldwin, too—though not strictly a Lambeth Primate, yet the first Primate

who owned a single acre of land in Lambeth—the Crusader-Primate, who, conspicuous in helmet and cuirass, with the banner of St Thomas unfurled before him, at the head of a regiment of cavalry, fought beside England's lion-hearted king, and won a soldier's grave amid the sands of Palestine; while Lambeth itself had a Cardinal-Archbishop, John Kempe, who, accompanying Henry V. to France, witnessed the grand victory at Agincourt. An order, indeed, was once issued by Edward III., calling on the Prelates and Clergy to take up arms in defence of the country.[1]

Moreover, the position of the Archbishops as Chancellors and Judges and Counsellors was such as to make them frequently the objects of political intrigue or personal malice; as in the case of Archbishop Stratford, who, becoming the object of a conspiracy, so narrowly escaped with his life from his palace at Charing in 1340; or exposed them to the lawlessness of a rabble, against whom not even the sanctity of their office was sufficient safeguard, as was shown in the fate of Simon Sudbury, the victim of the popular riot of Wat Tyler's followers in 1381. In such days as those, then, it became a necessity that exalted Churchmen, though in their calling "men of peace," should have their staff of men-at-arms to protect their persons as well as their property.

Thus the troublous character of those times

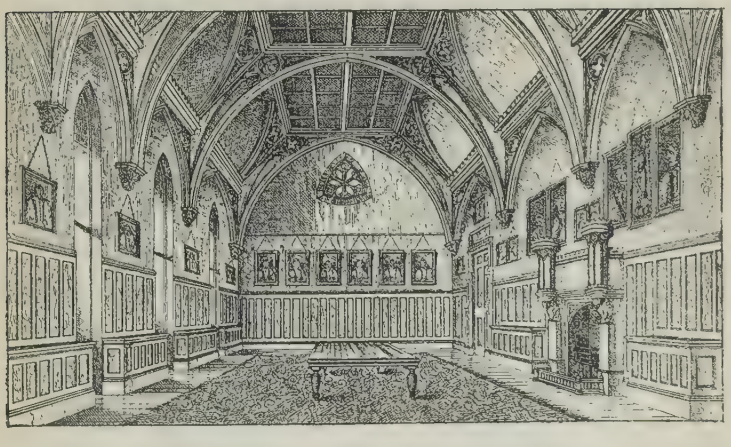
[1] Collier's History, vol. iii. p. 130.

accounts for the existence of a Guard-Chamber as part of the *entourage* of an Archiepiscopal Palace; and its usual position, between the entrance-gate and the private apartments, was not without its significance as a means of protection or defence rather than of mere display.

Now the existence of one at Lambeth was clearly as early as the year 1424; for such an apartment is mentioned in the 'Computus Ballivorum' of that year, under the name of *camera armigerorum;* though it does not appear in that of Archbishop Reynolds in 1321. But as a change came over the spirit of the nation—when the wars of the Roses, like those of the Barons, had become things of the past, and the ordinary peaceful and orderly condition of the country rendered such armed precautions less necessary—the living men-at-arms disappeared, and the empty coats of mail and rusty weapons figured on the walls as mementos of a bygone state of social life. Thus the old Guard-Chamber was changed into an Armoury, and even in Laud's time it was said that there remained armour enough for two hundred men. Much of this—comprising old muskets and bandoleers of ancient make—existed, but lay lumbering about, so late as Archbishop Potter's time. But all have since disappeared; and nothing remains save the traditional name to mark the early use of the apartment.

Otherwise the character of this building has

undergone but little change. In the extensive restoration of 1829 the intention was to adhere closely to the original design; but when it was discovered that the walls were merely rubble, and the one at the south end showed signs of falling, it was considered necessary to rebuild the whole; the noble old roof, however, as a part of the original building, was religiously preserved; it was carefully propped up, and the walls rose to receive it again. Only, the large four-light perpendicular window, which, according to prints of the last century,[1] appeared on the east side, and had clear-



The Guard-Room, now the Dining-Hall.

ly been an insertion of the Tudor period, was not replaced, but four two-light Early-English windows were introduced, with tracery closely har-

[1] See Herbert and Brayley's Lambeth Illustrated, p. 32.

monising with the rich old carving of the roof; while in the south gable a spherical window was inserted. On the west side, the old fireplace, apparently of gigantic proportions, with its mantel running up to the corbels of the roof, gave place to one, smaller and more suited to modern requirements. The general elevation of the room has also been changed; in order to give greater height to the apartments below, the present floor was raised three feet higher than the old one, while the panelling, which formerly ran up to the corbels, now rises barely six feet from the floor—an arrangement which admits admirably of the introduction, between the panelling and the cornice, of the series of portraits of successive Archbishops from the days of Henry VII. to those of Queen Victoria; thus imparting a special interest to the Dining-Hall, by making it also the Portrait-Gallery of the See.

Although for the fastidious eye of the artist this array of portraits may present fewer attractions than many smaller collections—though it can boast but few that are "rich and rare," compared with the choice gems of art which many private galleries contain—yet it has a value *sui generis;* it can show a succession more extensive and more complete than is to be found even in the most princely of England's baronial halls. What other gallery,—not even the Royal Collection at Windsor,[1] inclu-

[1] The series of the Bishops of Chichester is sometimes pointed out as being

sive of miniatures,—can boast an unbroken series of representatives for nearly four centuries — a descent of twenty-six generations? Such is the display Lambeth can produce. Here Warham and Tait, from the beginning of the sixteenth century to the later years of the nineteenth, are connected together by an unbroken chain. Thus, what it may lack of art value—though it can boast a Holbein, a Vandyck, a Kneller, a Hogarth, and a Sir Joshua—is more than made up by its historic interest and importance.

In that Guard-Chamber, so rich in associations peculiarly its own, who could stand, surrounded by those "counterfeits" of once living men of mark, without recalling,—here with patriotic pride, there with profound admiration, or with subdued sympathy,—as he scans the lineaments of each face in turn, the momentous events in which each one here portrayed bore his part—events which have taken their place in the country's annals? Here the true lover of history will find a succession of studies; such, too, as even the critical eye of the artist may occasionally rest upon with no little pleasure. It is in such a spirit, however imperfectly we may be able to give expression to it in language, that we desire to take our stand in this

the most perfect; but of them the highest local authority says the early ones were all painted by an Italian named Bernardi in the sixteenth century; the earliest real likeness being that of Bishop Sherburn, the last of the Roman line; those preceding being "just as authentic as the portraits of the Scottish kings in Holyrood Palace."

Guard-Chamber, and to dwell in thought among the great and the good whose portraits adorn its walls. To adopt the beautiful language of Coleridge—

> "Their several memories here—
> Even like their persons in their portraits clothed
> With the accustomed garb of daily life—
> Put on a lowly and a touching grace
> Of more distinct humanity."

Thus would we contemplate them, each and all, in connection with their personal and historical associations; delighting, as we pass on, to mark the traits of character which each picture discloses, and to read in those lines the workings of the inner man, as they were developed and displayed in the life-career of each.

A word, however, as to the general effect of this series. The mere casual observer will be unfavourably struck by a sense of sameness.[1] No doubt the seeming similarity of dress has this effect. It for the moment disappoints; for it throws into the background the more salient individualities, the differences of expression which furnish the true index of character. It must be admitted that in this respect this gallery labours under a disadvantage. It lacks that telling yet indescribable charm which variety of costume always gives to a collection in which are mixed here and there portraits

[1] "They are all so wonderfully alike," is a remark which often describes the first impression of a visitor.

of warriors or statesmen with more sombrely clad divines. There is a relief to the eye in falling on more varied objects; the chain-armour of a crusader, the glittering cuirass of a cavalier, the long sweeping mantle of a Chancellor or Lord Chief-Justice, the "curt cloak" of a dandy of the thirteenth century, the patchwork-looking or piebald dress of the *beau* of the early part of the fourteenth, the padded shoulders and tight-laced waist of the Plantagenet age, the gorgeously emblazoned tabard and the bright jerkin or the gaily slashed doublet and stiff collar of the Tudors, the loose open collar and flowing curls of the Royalist—these, intermingled with costumes of more modern times or graver hues, help to brighten most of our large private collections. But in the Lambeth series there is, of course, none of this variety. There seems to be little more than a constant repetition of the plain white rochet and lawn sleeves, relieved only by the dark stole or scarf; with the single exception of the scarlet cape of Cardinal Pole. Yet a more careful examination will detect variety even here, and variety not without interest. The close-fitting skull-cap of Warham spreads out at the four corners on the heads of Cranmer and Parker, till it assumes monstrous proportions over the face of Sheldon, and with Tillotson is stiffening into the "trencher-cap" as retained in the Universities of to-day. Again, the plainly buttoned rochet of the earlier Prelates becomes

stiffly frilled round the necks of Abbott and Laud, turns into a plain roll-collar with Juxon, and expands into a broad flat one with Sheldon and Sancroft; and then, being nearly covered by the stole, the collar disappears, leaving only the ends visible, which pass into mere broad bands with Tillotson, and as such are still in use on the Episcopal bench. With Tillotson came another change. Up to his time, in spite of the universally prevalent lay custom of false curls, which had come in with the Stuarts, the bishops always wore their own hair, at first very short, and gradually descending into somewhat shaggy curls, as seen in the portraits of Sheldon and Sancroft; but with Tillotson came in again short hair and the wig with stiff curls; these were somewhat reduced in size by each succeeding Prelate, until, as worn by Manners Sutton, and Howley, and Sumner, they hardly deserved the name, which still clung to them, of the full-bottomed wig: with the latter even this entirely disappeared, except on State occasions.

But to take the collection in detail. The two earliest in point of time can lay no claim to being original, or true to the life; they are probably little more than the embodiment of an early painter's fancy, based it may be upon, or adapted from, some elaborate title-page or illuminated initial of monkish chronicle or legend, or taken from the quarry of a painted window, or the marble figure on an altar-tomb, long since passed away.

Such is certainly the case with the portrait of DUNSTAN,[1] who died in 988. Any representation of one who lived little short of nine hundred years ago must, we naturally suppose, have been drawn from the imagination. Yet even here are depicted a firmness of character and a force of will such as might have belonged to one who in youth was a favourite in Athelstan's camp, who in maturer years became the prime minister of Edred, and the bold, wise, though unwelcome, counsellor of the thoughtless Edwy; one who in every stage, whether in favour or disgrace, was "a power" in the land, and the Church's true Champion. The legendary symbol of "the Tempter" perched upon his crosier, beyond question proclaims it to be a medieval work of fiction.[2]

It is not without some reluctance that one consents to place in the same category of apocryphal portraits that of Archbishop ARUNDEL, which comes next in point of time; for it is separated from our own days by but half so great an interval. This portrait is certainly very characteristic of the keen politician and bold Churchman, who, intriguing with his brother the Earl of Arundel and the Duke of Gloucester against Richard II., was banished the land, to return eventually as the friend and supporter of Henry Bolingbroke, whom he crowned.

[1] This hangs, not in the Guard-Room or Dining-Hall, but in the adjoining Gallery.

[2] It holds a place here as a curiosity rather than as a work of merit.

He held the Primacy from 1396 to 1414. Of this portrait itself, all that is known is, that it is a copy, presented to Lambeth by Archbishop Cornwallis, of a painting at Penshurst Castle;[1] the name of copyist and original artist alike unknown. It represents this scion of a noble house, cleric though he was, enrolled among Royal Princes and Nobles as one of the "Constables of Queenborough Castle," in the Isle of Sheppey; in those days a post of great honour and trust, like that of the Warden of the Cinque Ports in after-years. The haughty, hard lines of that face may not untruly represent the man with whose name is associated the *famosum statutum*, "*De heretico comburendo*," legalising the burning of heretics in England. Over his head is the following inscription :—

THOMAS FITZALLENVS FILIVS
COMITIS ARVNDELLIE ARC
HIEPISCOPVS CANTVARIENSIS
CONSTABVLARIVS CASTRE DE
QVEENBOVRGH, 27 APR
LIS ANNO DECIMO REGINI
HENRICI QVARTI.

[1] Ducarel (Lambeth Palace, p. 86, n.) says of it that "it is undoubtedly the oldest portrait of any English Archbishop now extant; and of any Prelate of this kingdom, except Walter de Merton, founder of Merton College, and William of Wykham, founder of Winchester and New College, Oxford;" but a critic of evident judgment and authority, though anonymous, in 'Notes and Queries' (August 16, 1879, p. 140), pronounces it to be "a copy from a false picture at Penshurst Place, made falser still by the copyist;" and goes on to say it is "a very poor parody of the one of Warham, so much later, by Holbein, with a few of the accessories displaced." Under such conflicting opinions its authenticity may well be doubted.

In the left-hand upper corner are the arms of Arundel and of the See of Canterbury *per pale;* in the opposite one the red rose of Lancaster.

The portrait of his successor, HENRY CHICHELEY[1] (from 1414 to 1443), may lay more claim to be a real likeness, and is probably a faithful one. Illustrious as a statesman, and still more so as a benefactor to the Church, he is represented with the softer features indicative of that gentler mind which gave so much grace to his life, and was especially conspicuous during the nearly thirty years of his Archiepiscopate.[2] The picture represents this eminent patron of art and architecture, the munificent and pious founder of All Souls (already the founder of St Bernard's, out of which eventually arose St John's College, Oxford), in the attitude of pronouncing the benediction; a man who, according to Dr Hook, though "not a Luther," desired to be, in the highest sense of the word, "a Reformer of the corruptions and abuses which were then debasing the Church."[3] Along the top of the picture runs the following—

HENRICVS CHICHELEY ARCHIEP. CANTVAR.

and at the bottom—

FVNDATOR COLLEGIJ ANIMA'. O'I'VM FID. DEF. OXON.

[1] Another very interesting likeness of Chicheley on glass, preserved in the large window in Juxon's Hall, has been already mentioned at page 50.

[2] Chicheley's character will be more fully examined and vindicated in the description of the (so-called) Lollard's Tower, which he built.

[3] Hook's Lives of the Archbishops, vol. v. p. 79.

Then followed five occupants of the See; their Episcopates covering rather more than half a century: John Stafford, John Kempe, Thomas Bourchier,[1] John Morton, and Henry Dene or Deny. Of none of these is there any even apocryphal portrait in the Lambeth Gallery, and of only one anywhere else. The claims of the one of Cardinal Kempe, formerly in the Strawberry Hill Collection, though warmly supported by Horace Walpole, have been long since disallowed. Of Morton there has been lately discovered a supposed likeness in fresco on a panel in the retired but interesting church of Plymtree in Devonshire, where it appears in appropriate company with those of Henry VII. and Prince Arthur.[2] He is represented—and this supplies one of the grounds of identification—as "carrying frankincense, not in a censer, or thurible, of any ordinary pattern, but in a vessel made in the form of Morton's *Rebus*, a *tun* or cask, with the letter M upon it." In the crypt of Canterbury Cathedral is a recumbent marble effigy on Morton's tomb; but the face is

[1] In a 'History of Arundel Church' there is an engraving entitled "Portrait of Thomas Bourchier," &c., representing a bishop with an open book, and a crosier, and a scroll with the letters "S. AMBROSIVS" on the mitre. But of this print C. A. Buckler, Esq., who can speak with no little authority on matters connected with Arundel, writes to the author: "There is part of the mutilated figure of a bishop in cope and mitre, but the word 'Ambrose' does not exist. Had the figure been meant for Archbishop Bourchier it would have had the *cross* and not the crosier, and probably a cardinal's cap. The etching is a made-up affair."

[2] Henry VII., Prince Arthur, and Cardinal Morton. By Rev. T. Mozley, Rector of Plymtree. P. 10.

so mutilated, the nose and chin destroyed, and the mouth injured, that all clue to likeness is lost.

It is when we reach the first years of the sixteenth century that we feel we are treading on surer ground;[1] then the real begins to supersede the ideal, and fact takes the place of fancy. It is then that this far-famed series actually commences; and it commences worthily with a genuine Holbein of WILLIAM WARHAM, who was Archbishop from 1503 to 1533. Here is one of those portraits which vividly reminds us of the lines of the poet Cowley:—

> "Who to the life an exact piece would make,
> . . . before his sight must place
> The natural and living face."

This Holbein did: in the words of Allan Cunningham, "he was skilful in plain fidelity of resemblance, and could imitate whatever stood before him in flesh and blood;"[2] and he has enabled succeeding generations to see what he saw, and as he saw it, to a degree few painters have ever done. This may be said of all his portraits—except perhaps the memorable miniature of Anne of Cleves;[3] and notably so of this, of which his enthusiastic

[1] "A List of the Portraits in Lambeth House, September 1794," has been preserved among the "Cole's Additional MSS." (6391, f. 191) in the British Museum, on which, supplemented by notices in Ducarel's Lambeth Palace, the following account of the pictures in this gallery has been mainly based.

[2] Lives of British Painters, &c., vol. i. p. 23.

[3] Miss Strickland's Queens of England, vol. iii. p. 49.

biographer Wornum thus makes special mention: "I instance this picture," he says, "as an illustration that Holbein had the power of seeing what he looked on, and of perfectly transferring to his picture what he saw." He calls it a "remarkable specimen of the painter's powers—it is a picture as well as a portrait. All the accessories are excellent."[1]

It is believed to have been one of the first portraits of importance which Holbein painted after his arrival in this country, and was presented by himself, or, as some think, by his first patron, Sir Thomas More, to the Primate. As we look upon "that noble face of seventy years," so full of character and expression, which for nearly four centuries has handed down to thousands of admirers the impression of what Warham was like, and almost makes us see what Warham was, our thoughts irresistibly turn to the youthful artist himself, not yet, as Allan Cunningham describes him, "with a swarthy, sensual face, a strong frame, a neck like a bull, and an eye unlikely to endure contradiction;" but, as his own canvas has represented him, with the "fair, frank, manly face, the sweet gentle mouth, and the heavy red cap flinging its shade over the mobile melancholy brow."[2] Such he appeared when he landed in England, a stranger, with a letter of introduction to the

[1] Wornum's Life of Holbein, p. 217.

[2] Stray Studies. By J. R. Green. P. 123.

powerful Chancellor More, and another to the Primate, from the early friend of his youth at Basle, the scholar Erasmus; letters which proved the passport to favour at Chelsea and Lambeth, before his own successes had secured for him the almost monopolising and exacting patronage of Henry VIII. at Whitehall. When Holbein presented this picture to the Archbishop, he accompanied it with a likeness he had already painted of Erasmus; thus as it were bringing together two men who should in the course of time become fast friends. For more than a century the two pictures hung fitly side by side.[1] In the desecration and sacrilege perpetrated by the Parliamentarian iconoclasts, both were carried off, and for a time lost to Lambeth: that of Erasmus was never recovered; happily this one was found and restored to its place. Sir William Dugdale discovered it and presented it to Archbishop Sancroft.[2] It has been said of this por-

[1] These two pictures would seem to have been included among the personalty of the successive Primates, and to have passed from Archbishop to Archbishop on payment of a sum of money, like many other fixtures of the Palace. Parker, by his Will, sought to remove them from that category, and attach them thenceforth to the See (on condition that his estate was exempt from Dilapidations in recognition of the large sums he had himself expended at Lambeth and Canterbury). The clause in his Will referred to is thus worded (Strype's Life of Parker, Appendix, p. 186): "Do etiam successoribus meis in perpetuum imagines tabulatas Episcopi Warham prædecessoris mei, et imaginem Erasmi Rotherodami in Deambulatorio sitas." But this arrangement does not appear to have been formally carried out, for Laud also inserts in his Will a conditional clause, "As for the pictures in the Gallery at Lambeth, I leave them to succession, as well those which I found there as those I have added."

[2] Ducarel's Lambeth Palace, p. 43, n.

trait that, "memorable as it is in the annals of art, it is more memorable as marking the close of the great intellectual movement which the Reformation swept away."[1] Now is this true? Warham, second only to Sir Thomas More, was the Mæcenas of his age; under him Lambeth was the home, the shrine, of literature and art; to him Erasmus himself owed his first source of income in the English Church as Rector of Aldington, near Ashford (though he never resided there), and soon after a more congenial sphere of labour in a professor's chair at Oxford; yet the intellectual movement, the Augustan age of England and of her Church, cannot be said to have closed with him—nay, it had not yet fully dawned. Warham inaugurated the revival of true classical learning in the land; and under him, if not from himself,[2] after a century of suppression and persecution, reappeared and flourished in the persons of Erasmus, Dean Colet, and others, the germ of that Reformation which was to prove a still nobler revival. A picture, then, which connects in our minds Warham, Erasmus, and Holbein, the fathers of the *renaissance* of literature, theology, and art, is, besides its intrinsic merits as a work of art, of rare value in the richness of its historic associations.

In the private library of the Archbishop, there is also a likeness of Warham, now inserted in the

[1] Stray Studies. By J. R. Green. P. 123.
[2] Canon Dixon's History of the Church of England, vol. i. *passim*.

wainscoting over the fireplace (probably a copy of the Holbein) full of interest in itself, and deserving of notice even in the collection which contains the noble original. Another, equally striking, and only differing in the colour of the background, was formerly at Lambeth, but has been transferred to the Archbishop's country residence at Addington Park.

Of Thomas Cranmer, Warham's successor, who filled the See from 1533 to 1556, there are two portraits, which present a noteworthy contrast between the Cranmer of Henry VIII. and the Cranmer of Edward VI. The earlier one is on panel: it represents him in middle life; the eye is full of intellect; the whole face bespeaks honesty and single-heartedness; but the mouth betrays weakness of purpose — those indications of character which his Royal patron and master had not been slow to detect and make use of. Already may be traced on this smooth face the lines of a plastic disposition; already the individuality of the man seems to be disappearing, and his nobler impulses suppressed, under the arbitrary control of the King. It is already a careworn face; mistrust begins to show itself there — such as made him wish that he were only free to join in the escape, and share the exile, of brother prelates and divines, who, like himself, feared the selfish caprice, yet were not so closely bound down by obligations of place and favour to the Court of the unscrupulous

Henry. The history of this picture is unknown; but it bears a striking resemblance to one which was in the British Museum,[1] and has been recently removed to the National Portrait Gallery in South Kensington, where it appears in the Catalogue under the name of "Gerbacus Flicius,[2] an unknown painter."

The other portrait, also by an unknown painter, shows Cranmer with the noble silvery beard with which he is more commonly represented. Now it is a matter of history that, after Henry's death, Cranmer never allowed the razor to touch his chin:[3] he suffered his beard to grow in token of mourning for the master whom he regarded with strangely mingled feelings of undoubted attachment and yet of dread. Here is still apparent the weakness of purpose by which he now subjected his own individuality to the imperious Protector Somerset, as he had done before to Henry, and by which he was being borne onward, with the current of popular opinion, against his own more sober convictions, till he found himself powerless to withstand the daily increasing influence of foreign Reformers, or to restrain the irreligious conduct of the "Protestant" nobility, who were

[1] Two portraits of Cranmer taken about the same period—one at Jesus College, Cambridge, the other in the possession of Captain Byng—are supposed to be by Holbein.

[2] A beautiful engraving from this picture is given in Lodge's Portraits, and the supposed painter's name is there spelt "Gerbicus Flicciis."

[3] Hook's Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury, vol. vii. p. 126, n.

enriching themselves by the further spoliation of the Church. The careworn expression on his face seems now to have given place to a settled melancholy, which rests upon him as though he had a sad foreboding of the end that awaited him, when the alloy of human weakness was to be purged away in the smelting fires of martyrdom.

Cardinal Reginald Pole, who comes next in order, and was Primate from 1555 to 1559, appears in guise worthy of his noble birth and intrinsically noble character. It is a fine picture, full of power and spirit. He appears such as he might have been when he sat as one of the Papal Legates in the earlier Sessions of the Council of Trent, in all the splendour of his new Cardinal's cap and cape. The expression is very similar to the well-known portrait by Piombo in the Barberini Palace at Rome, but with a much less luxuriant beard.[1]

There is another portrait of Pole on panel, by an unknown, but, from its hard stiff character, by some inferior, probably contemporary, artist, which represents him as having grown much older (prem-

[1] Lysons (Environs of London, vol. iv. p. 594) says it is a copy of Piombo's, and that it was presented to Lambeth by the then Archbishop, Moore, (1796). It certainly is not mentioned by Ducarel among those existing in his time (1785), for he only mentions one of Pole, and that is the smaller one on panel; nor is it in the list given in Cole's Additional MSS. in the British Museum, which is dated 1794. Lysons is therefore probably right in ascribing to Archbishop Moore the appearance of this fine picture in Lambeth, though evidently wrong in calling it a copy of the one in the Barberini Palace.

aturely so, for he only attained the age of 58): his beard is much reduced in size; and deep lines, whether of disappointment, or of disease, or of Papal persecution, have marked the face which but a few years before seemed to be without a care. Over his head runs the inscription—

> REGINALDUS POLUS R. CARDINALIS
> COLLEGIJ CORPORIS XTI OXON OLIM SOCIUS
> ELECTUS IN DC̄TM̄ COLLEGIU' 14 FEB.[1]

—and by the side the arms of Pole and Canterbury *per pale*, surmounted by a cardinal's cap. Along the bottom of the picture are traces of an inscription, now quite illegible, but which Ducarel gives as being decipherable in his time, with a conjectural explanation:—

> NATALIS PR*obi*TAS DOCTRINÆ SA*lv*A*que* VIRT*us*
> TE JU*ve*NE *in*CL*arent totu*M . . . ALT*a* P*er* ORBE*m*.

Ducarel considers this to have been an original and probably faithful likeness;[2] but the other, like all the more common engravings, which represent Pole with a large flowing beard, he considers to have been imaginary, or at least exaggerated.

The smaller portrait is now relegated to the walls of the private dining-room.

[1] The Admission Book of the Fellows of Corpus Christi College enables us to supply the year—1523—which on the portrait has become illegible. The word *electus* is scarcely correct; as Pole, having been nominated by the founder himself (Bishop Fox) should have been described as *assumptus*.

[2] A likeness of the Cardinal, very similar to this, was in the possession of the Poole family in Dorsetshire.—Ducarel's Lambeth Palace, p. 86.

It is scarcely possible to stand before that of Pole's successor, MATTHEW PARKER, without feelings of surprise and regret that the portraiture of such a man should not have been given to posterity by a more distinguished painter of his day. Filling as he did so prominent a post in those eventful years of England's history, the early ones of Elizabeth's reign — from 1559 to 1575 — the English Church by general consent acknowledges her debt of gratitude to him as the true Anglican Primate of the Reformation period. Firmly withstanding alike the intrigues of the specious Romanist, and the renewal of foreign Protestant zeal to which Cranmer had weakly yielded, he was, under God, the instrument for replacing the Church of the nation on its Apostolic and Primitive lines: moreover, he was a very Prince of the Church in liberality as well as dignity; a great patron, too, of art and literature, having among his staff at Lambeth painters, engravers, and printers. And yet, although the Court of Elizabeth could boast of men like Sir Antonio More, Mark Garrard, and Hillyard, Matthew Parker has found no one better than a comparatively mediocre painter, Richard Lyne, whose name has no place in the list of our known national artists, to perpetuate his face on canvas, to take its place between a Holbein and a Vandyck. And even for the recovery of this one, which appears to have been for a time lost to the Palace, it is, according to Ducarel, indebted to the

great benefactor to this Portrait-Gallery, Archbishop Cornwallis.[1] It is, however, rather to a delicate line engraving by Remigius Hogenberg, who was also in the household of Parker, that we owe the most reliable representation of what the good Archbishop was like in his ripe old age. The history of this "beautiful limning" is thus given by Ducarel:[2] it is "in the original copy of the Statutes given by the Archbishop to Benet College, Cambridge;" this was "exactly traced off and etched by the late excellent Mr Tyson, fellow of that College, 1769, a copy of which is placed in the Lambeth Library." This is pronounced by Vertue to have been the first portrait that was engraven in England.[3] Here we have a face bearing the impress of thought and high purpose; a happy blending of the personal humility with the dignity befitting his office, and the firm resolve necessary to carry out its duties unflinchingly. A comparison of the engraving with the painting tempts one to think that, instead of the engraver following the painter, the painter had in this case followed the engraver, and that Lyne, a

[1] It was "formerly in the possession of James West, Esq., afterwards of John Ives, Esq. of Yarmouth, who presented it in 1772 to Archbishop Cornwallis, by whom it was placed in the picture-gallery at Lambeth Palace."—Ducarel's Lambeth Palace, p. 62, n.

[2] Ducarel's Lambeth Palace, p. 61, n.

[3] This engraving appears in 'A Genealogy of Kings of England from the Conquest to Elizabeth,' with the inscription: "Remigius Hogenbergius Servus D. Matt. Archiep. Cant. sculpsit. 1574." The etching by Mr Tyson is at the end of the Life of Parker, in the copy of his 'Historia de Antiquitate Britannicæ Ecclesiæ' in the Lambeth Library.

mere copyist, had taken Hogenberg's clear expressive plate as the groundwork for his painting, closely retaining the several details of book, casket, inkstand, and hour-glass.

The portrait of EDMUND GRINDAL, who succeeded, from 1575 to 1583, is said, according to an engraving by S. Trotter, to have been the work of De Vos (Martin?), and may be accepted as being very expressive of his character. For while he equalled his predecessor in kindness of heart, he unhappily fell far short of him in that firmness of purpose which had preserved Parker from ever conceding any vital Church principle. During the dark period of Mary's reign, Parker, though so closely connected in former days with the unhappy mother of Elizabeth, and with the young princess herself, had remained in safe retirement in England; while Grindal, with his more pronounced views and more active temperament, having made himself a far more marked man, was forced to seek for safety in flight abroad; and being there brought into close contact with Continental Reformers, he was so much influenced by them, that, despite all his earlier training as the Chaplain and friend of the Catholic-minded Bishop Ridley, through his increasing sympathy with Luther, Bucer, Melancthon, and also Calvin, his mind became so familiarised with laxer views of Church doctrine and discipline, that he was led to make concessions, even in regard to those vital principles of Church

order which his predecessor had so wisely laid down, and so steadfastly maintained. Grindal's face in this portrait tells all this; his was a gentle pliancy of disposition. And yet he could be resolute, as he found to his cost when opposing Elizabeth on the subject of the "prophesyings;" for his resistance to the Queen's wishes cost him the royal favour, and the latter years of his life were spent in disgrace. His leaning to the foreign Reformers betrayed itself even in his dress, for it is said of him that never, when he could avoid it, would he wear Episcopal robes.

Next to him comes JOHN WHITGIFT, whose occupancy of the Primacy from 1583 to 1604 was justly regarded as a turning-point in a most critical period of the English Church; indeed his character and influence are thus described by good old Isaak Walton,[1] where, speaking of the several offices Whitgift had filled at Cambridge, Ely, Lincoln, and Worcester, he adds, "In all which removes he was like the Ark, which left a blessing on the place where it rested." In his person the friendly connection between Lambeth and Whitehall, for a time broken by Grindal, was again happily restored; for Elizabeth, with all her foibles, "liked an honest man," and Whitgift's consistency, courage, determination, and, above all, disinterestedness, commanded her respect, even when he ventured to differ from her, as he did very firmly, when she,

[1] Life of Richard Hooker.

as Henry's own daughter, would have sanctioned further spoliations of Church property; and again when, with the decaying powers of advancing years, he assented to the "Lambeth Articles," which in her turn she, supported by Burghley, strenuously resisted. So sincere, however, was her regard for him, that old Isaak says she used to call him "*her little black husband.*" Lovingly as well as loyally did the aged Primate close his Queen's eyes; and it was no trifling mark of personal respect that her successor, James, stood in tears beside the Archbishop's dying bed, and gave utterance to an earnest prayer that his life might be prolonged—only to hear in reply the failing breath falter forth, "*Pro Ecclesiâ Dei! pro Ecclesiâ Dei!*"[1]

The portrait in the Guard-Room represents Whitgift with the clustered pillars and window of a cathedral in the background, the whole within a plain oval. But another and far more expressive likeness of him hangs in the Long Gallery, and is evidently the one referred to in the list in "Cole's Additional MSS.," where it is exactly described as containing over the figure "the crest, a lion's *gamb* (paw) holding a wreath, with forefinger of his left hand in a book; a head with a black beard; picture on board;" the arms also are painted in the margin.[2] No mention is made in that list of another portrait of Archbishop Whitgift being in the collec-

[1] Walton's Life of Richard Hooker.

[2] A beautiful engraving of this picture was published by Vertue in 1717.

tion. This second likeness, which has the post of honour in the series, was probably the one bequeathed by Archbishop Wake.[1] In it we delight to dwell upon a countenance indicative of firmness and strength of purpose, and to contemplate him, not so much as the bold and able opponent of Travers and Cartwright, but as the true friend and fearless patron of the "judicious Hooker," and of the only less learned Saravia.

For some time during the declining years of Whitgift, RICHARD BANCROFT, at that time Bishop of London, had to a great extent administered the See of Canterbury: consequently, on the death of the aged Primate he was naturally looked to, and readily accepted as his successor; but his tenure of the office was only from 1604 to 1610. It was Bancroft's misfortune to have his life chiefly written by men who, in the fervour of their Puritanism, could see in his administration of the Church nothing but what was censurable, and who imagined a grievance in every necessary act of discipline; yet few that have filled that high post proved themselves more loyal and true sons of their mother Church, few were more justly entitled to be called "Fathers in Israel," than he of whom old Fuller says that "a great statesman he was, and grand champion of Church discipline."[2] Receiving the reins of power from the hands of his enfeebled

[1] See *infra*, page 157.

[2] Fuller's Worthies, vol. i. p. 544.

friend and patron Whitgift, his was no uneventful Episcopate, for it included the Hampton Court Conference, the Consecration of Bishops for the Scotch Church, and, noblest work of all, the translation of the Bible, now known as the "Authorised Version." And by the bequest of his own extensive collection of books he laid the foundation of the noble Public Library at Lambeth. It must indeed have saddened his later days if he surmised that the power he so vigorously wielded would be transmitted to one so directly opposed to him in feelings and in principle as the new Court favourite, George Abbott: and he evidently did forebode coming changes upon the Church; for in an early Will he had bequeathed large sums of money for Church purposes: but fearing that all Ecclesiastical Corporations were in danger, he cancelled those bequests by a later Will; and even when bequeathing his "great and famous library of books of divinity" to the See, as already mentioned,[1] he seemed to do it in fear and trembling, for he protected it by the wise condition that if it should be in danger at Lambeth it should be transferred to the University of Cambridge.

So it befell, as he seemed to fear. Although on his death men's eyes were turned to Lancelot Andrewes, then Bishop of Ely (and afterwards translated to Winchester), universally regarded as the most learned divine and most powerful preacher,

[1] Page 62.

or to Overall, the profoundest Canonist, of that day; yet Court favour triumphed, and GEORGE ABBOTT (who had been formerly Chaplain to the Earl of Dunbar, the late powerful favourite of James), though he had barely a year before been consecrated to the See of Lichfield and Coventry, and after one month translated to London, was within the year raised to the Primacy, over such men as Andrewes and Overall—and that on the plea that his strongly avowed Calvinism would conciliate the Presbyterians! A satirist of the day thus describes the appointment: "Abbott," he says, "had been blown over by a strong north wind across the Thames to Lambeth."[1] Another says, "Dunbar carried Lambeth by a *coup de main*." Abbott's stern austere manner kept all men aloof; the laity shunned him; while the severity of his judgments made the clergy dread him, though the gentle Fuller[2] pleads that this severity was prompted by his desire to save them from "being punished by the Lay Judges to their greater shame:" thus the affections of the people, lay and clerical alike, were alienated from the Church in his person. This may account for the almost utter absence of personal commiseration for him during the period of his deprivation, in consequence of the sad accident when he killed one

[1] Letter from Sir George Calvert (afterwards Lord Baltimore), Principal Secretary of State to James I., addressed to Sir Thomas Edwards.

[2] Fuller's Worthies, vol. ii. p. 360.

of Lord Zouch's keepers, while on a shooting-party at Bramzil Park.

With him Christianity seemed to be summed up, not in the Gospels, but in the "Institutes" of Calvin; nothing less, and nothing more. On the one hand, language seemed to fail him to give full expression to the bitter feelings he entertained against Popery;[1] and on the other, he seemed to think that the Primacy of an Established Church required of him that he should visit with the severest penalties of the law any man who dared to dissent from or go beyond *his* interpretation of its teaching. Thus under him, while the Romanist was denounced, the fires of Smithfield, which had been suffered to die out since the death of Mary, were again lighted, and two Anabaptists, Leggett and Whitman, were brought to the stake as heretics.

A Latin poet, speaking of the two ends of a pastoral staff, says—

"Curva trahit mites, pars pungit acuta rebellos;"

but Abbott seemed to regard all his flock as rebels, and to use only the goad. Perhaps this thought was in the mind of Bishop Hacket when, contrasting his gentle and wise predecessor's system of administration with that adopted by Abbott, he

[1] Clarendon said, "Abbott considered Christian religion no otherwise than as it abhorred and reviled Popery."—History of the Rebellion (Oxford ed., 1843), p. 36.

said, "Bancroft considered the pastoral staff was made to bring back a wandering sheep, not to knock it down."[1]

The portrait is remarkable for its richness of colour and force of expression, and deserves to have rescued the artist's name from oblivion instead of adding another to the list of "unknown painters;" and if Clarendon's description of the Archbishop be true, that he was "a man of very morose manners and a very sour aspect, which at that time was called gravity,"[2] the picture, in addition to its merits as a work of art, may be accepted as having been a "speaking likeness." To the twenty-three years of his Primacy, which lasted from 1610 to 1633, may be traced much of the trouble which subsequently befell the English Church.

From Abbott we pass to him on whom the mitre of Canterbury next devolved, and proved an inheritance so wofully encumbered and imperilled through his predecessor's failings and indiscretions; while his own want of prudence and judgment greatly increased the difficulties and dangers of his position.

The portrait of WILLIAM LAUD, who held the Primacy from 1633 to 1644, is an undoubted Vandyck, and, like that of Warham by Holbein, was a present from the artist himself. One cannot con-

[1] Hacket's Life of Lord-Keeper Williams, p. 97.
[2] Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, p. 38.

template that face without mingled feelings: respect for that conscientious steadfastness which made him dare and do what he believed to be his duty; regret for that lack of judgment and consideration which made him so uncompromising and unconciliatory in the performance of it, to his own ruin, and to some extent to that of his Royal master; and admiration of the heroism with which, at the age of threescore years and ten, still true to his lifelong convictions—still unbending before the malice of his enemies, unwavering in his sense of duty, unshaken in his trust in God—the old man closed a career of trouble and trial on the block. That "roughness of his uncourtly nature"[1] is here; that firm dignity, not to say severity, that stern uncompromising spirit, that almost proud resignation, seem to look down upon us from the lifelike canvas of Vandyck.

This picture is itself the subject of an incident recorded in the Archbishop's diary. One day near the close of the last October he spent at Lambeth (1640), he was entering his upper study, when, to use his own words, "in that study hung my picture taken by the life; and, coming in, I found it fallen down upon the face, and lying on the floor,

[1] "It is true the roughness of his uncourtly nature sent most men discontented from him: yet would he often of himself find ways and means to sweeten many of them when they least looked for it." So wrote Sir Edward Dering in vindication of the man against whom, at the persuasion of the designing Puritans, he had been the first to move the House of Commons.—Southey's Book of the Church, vol. ii. p. 397.

the string being broken by which it was hanged against the wall. I am almost every day threatened with my ruin in Parliament; God grant this be no omen!"[1] An omen, however, too true it proved; for in a few weeks he was a prisoner in the Tower, and after weary and vexatious mental torture worthy of the Inquisition, he too fell from his high place, his fate supplying a connecting-link between those of his colleague Strafford and his patron Charles.

It is not without some sense of relief we turn to the portrait of his successor, WILLIAM JUXON, whose brief tenure of office only extended from 1660 to 1663. Step by step he had followed Laud, as Fellow, and then President, of St John's College, as Bishop of London, and eventually as Primate: and yet, while identified with him in almost every act of those troubled times, how different their fates! It was no doubt the personal character, the amenity of temper and gentleness of manner, that won for Juxon the nation's confidence and praise, while Laud's lack of these graces was only drawing down upon him hatred and mistrust. Antony Wood describes him as "a person of primitive sanctity, of great wisdom, piety, learning, patience, charity, and apostolic virtues;"[2] and even Lucius Carey, Lord Falkland, who, Royalist though he was of the noblest type, was a bitter opponent of the Bishops

[1] Laud's Diary, p. 59 (Oct. 17, 1640).
[2] Wood's Athenæ Oxonienses (Bliss's ed., 1820), vol. iv. p. 819.

sitting in Parliament, and one who sometimes launched upon the Episcopal Bench the keenest invective, could make exception in favour of Juxon, and say of him, that, "in an unexpected place and power, he expressed an equal moderation and humility, being neither ambitious before, nor proud after, either the crosier or white staff,"[1] in allusion to his having been Bishop of London and Lord Treasurer.

And to this general respect it may be attributed that, though he was once seized and brought before the High Court of Justice, no charge was established against him, and he was immediately set free, and suffered to enjoy an unmolested retirement during the Commonwealth.

His portrait, in *pose* and dress little more than the counterpart or repetition of that of Laud, with face reversed, is a copy of one at Long Leat, where it appropriately holds its place in the house which a quarter of a century after furnished a home to the saintly Bishop Ken. The names of artist and copyist alike are unknown: by some, the original, which was placed at Long Leat by the first Viscount Weymouth about the year 1700, is attributed to Vandyck, but without any sufficient authority. The copy was inserted in the Lambeth series by Archbishop Cornwallis.

There is a current tradition that Juxon, with characteristic humility, persistently refused to sit

[1] Hook's Life of Archbishop Juxon.

to any painter, and that the picture at Long Leat, as also the better known one at St John's College, Oxford (which is also the work of an unknown artist), were executed from memory—or perhaps rather upon an adaptation of the Laudian dress and bearing, the face being painted in after death; for which much facility was offered by the body lying in state in the Oxford Divinity School for two days. That sad face seems as if the echoes of the mysterious word "Remember!" addressed to him by Charles I. on the scaffold, were still floating around him.

There is also another very remarkable likeness of Archbishop Juxon hanging over the doorway of the adjoining Long Gallery, which represents him in the stillness and repose of death: this was no doubt taken under the circumstances already alluded to.[1]

Gilbert Sheldon, who was Archbishop from 1663 to 1667, was the son of a favourite domestic of Lord Shrewsbury's household,—another instance of a man rising from a comparatively humble origin to the highest position in the English Church. The twelve years of the Protectorate which Juxon had enjoyed in undisturbed retirement, because he had remained comparatively inactive, had been spent by Sheldon in active though covert support

[1] This is probably the picture of Juxon mentioned in Archbishop Wake's Will, see *infra*, p. 157, n. 2, as the one in the series is otherwise accounted for.

of the exiled house of Stuart; and soon after their return to power, he received his reward at their hands, and fulfilled the predictions of his early life —for, according to Lord Clarendon, he was early "looked upon as very equal to any preferment the Church could yield him;" and even the Parliamentarian, Sir F. Wenman, said of him that he "was born and bred to be Archbishop of Canterbury."[1] In Sheldon we see a political Churchman rather than a Divine. Contact with the rampant hypocrisy of many leading Puritans made him suspect all pretence to special piety as being nothing but a cloak for disloyalty and dishonesty. Personal wrongs, and the wrongs of the Church, had formed in him a seeming severity against Nonconformists generally; and as they were the chief historians of the day, his name has come down to us blackened with all the obloquy which reciprocated dislike could cast upon it. This feeling was no doubt mutually embittered by protracted acrimonious and futile Conferences held at the Savoy, in which, in the absence of the aged and infirm Juxon, he was called upon to take principal part as Bishop of London. Yet be it remembered of Sheldon that he dared to rebuke the immoralities of Charles II. and his Court; and also exhibited a personal as well as moral courage not to be lightly regarded; for when, in 1665, the plague raged in

[1] Life of Lord Clarendon (1843), Part I., A.D. 1635; History of the Rebellion, vol. ii. p. 928.

London, and almost every one who could fled from the doomed city, not only did he never leave Lambeth, though victims were dying in numbers at the very gates of the Palace, but he ministered freely to their wants of his own wealth, and from funds which, at his solicitation, were supplied from all parts of the country. To his liberality Oxford bears witness in that noble building called after him, the "Sheldonian Theatre," built entirely at his own cost. He was also a liberal contributor to the rebuilding of St Paul's Cathedral; and to him the See of London was indebted for the Episcopal house in St James's Square; which was taken down by Archbishop Howley, when Bishop of London, to make room for the present worthier building. He was the friend of Ussher, Hammond, Sanderson, and other kindred spirits; and yet the lineaments of his face, as given in either of the two portraits of him in the Palace, seem, with their severe and almost repellent expression, to explain how, with self-reliant reserve, he failed to secure the general esteem and fitting recognition of his contemporaries, and that position in the Ecclesiastical history of his country to which his natural gifts and conspicuous career entitled him.[1] Of the two portraits, one is a copy from the picture in Broom Hall, presented by Archbishop Cornwallis; the other, by an unknown artist, apparently a copy

[1] See Hook's character of Sheldon, Lives of the Archbishops, vol. xi. pp. 424-428.

from one by D. Loggan, formerly in the possession of the Earl of Home.[1]

The appointment of WILLIAM SANCROFT, whose Episcopate ranged from 1678 to 1691, marks another crisis in the history of the English Church. He, like Sheldon, had raised himself by his own merits and ability as a controversialist. His first appointment of importance was to the Deanery of St Paul's, and also to the dignified position of Prolocutor of the Lower House of Convocation; and then, probably as much to his own surprise as to that of others, he was selected to fill the post vacated by the death of Sheldon. It is not on Burnet's description of Sancroft, who seemed to seize every opportunity of depreciating him, that an estimate must be formed of his intellectual power and his high-minded zeal; nor is it by the futile tenacity with which he clung to Lambeth after his deprivation, that his real character must be judged. A jealous assertion of the Church's endangered rights, and loyalty and devotion to the house of Stuart, though for it he had suffered much, were the principles on which he and his brother Bishops based their resistance to what they regarded as the unconstitutional demands of James II. on the one hand, and those of William III. on the other. However much men may question the soundness or wisdom of his subsequent Nonjuror action, they can hardly withhold admiration

[1] Of which Vertue has published an admirable engraving.

for the constancy with which he and his fellow-prisoners bore themselves throughout the memorable trial, or fail to sympathise with the exultation of the nation on the still more memorable acquittal which followed. Yet so strong was the tendency to depreciate his worth on the part of the ruling powers at the time, that scant justice was done to his memory. Indeed it has been well said, that for many years after the Revolution "not one of his successors had the spirit or generosity to hang up his picture in the Palace, till Archbishop Cornwallis (observing the portrait of him by P. Lens in the gallery at Emmanuel College, Cambridge, to which he had been so liberal a benefactor) obtained leave to have a copy of it taken;"[1] which now occupies its place in the Lambeth series. Another portrait of Sancroft, by Luttrell, once hung in the Gallery, and from it was taken the engraving by Meyer which appears as the frontispiece of D'Oyly's Life of the Archbishop. This appears to have been the private property of Archbishop Manners Sutton, and only temporarily deposited here.[2] In the Library is preserved a beautiful little oval portrait of Sancroft drawn on parchment, in lead pencil, probably by Loggan—a style in which this artist excelled.

In the Long Gallery appears a picture traditionally reputed, though on what authority is not

[1] D'Oyly's Life of Sancroft, vol. ii. p. 77, n.
[2] Notes and Queries, Aug. 16, 1879, p. 140.

known,[1] to be a likeness of Sancroft in early life. It represents a young man in the character of a student, book in hand, but with no conceivable resemblance to the features of the Archbishop as portrayed in the authentic likenesses; and along the bottom of the frame are printed the words "*Rapido contrarius orbi.*" These words occur in the earnest remonstrance of Phœbus against Phaethon's rash desire to drive the chariot of the Sun;[2] and in their supposed application to Sancroft they would certainly have been almost prophetic of his fate, for he learned by bitter experience how incapable he was of resisting the forces of political revolution with which he was surrounded. The date, however, 1650, which appears at the foot of the picture, disposes of the tradition; for at that time Sancroft must have reached his thirty-fourth year, whereas the picture represents a youth of little more than half that age.

Many and striking have been the contrasts which Lambeth has witnessed in the succession of its Primates; but perhaps never—not even in the transition from Bancroft to Abbott—was the contrast greater than when the crosier passed from the reluctant hands of William Sancroft into those of JOHN TILLOTSON. Sancroft was hereditarily

[1] In the list in "Cole's Additional MSS." it is only named *anonymous*, with the date and quotation given. Ducarel (Lambeth Palace, p. 86), notices it as "supposed to be Archbishop Sancroft when young."

[2] The passage runs thus :—

"... Non me, qui cætera, vincit
Impetus; et rapido contrarius evehor orbi."—Ovid's Metam., ii. 73.

and by conviction a High Churchman; Tillotson, born of Presbyterian parents, his wife a niece of Oliver Cromwell, was distinctively a Latitudinarian (a term then first coming into vogue), and any tinge of Calvinism he might have inherited must have been very slight, for the leading revivers of Calvinism of that day would not own him. The one was a profound scholar; the other, without any high claims to theology, was the most popular preacher of his day. The contrast may be summed up by saying that Sancroft's was a Court appointment under Charles II., Tillotson the personal selection of William III. His brief tenure of the Primacy, from 1691 to 1694, sufficed to justify the selection, for it has been said that "his clear head and sweet temper" fitted him admirably for mastering the difficulties and allaying the strifes of his time. He must have possessed in a rare degree the gift of winning to himself men of most opposite views, since Lord William Russell had entreated his attendance upon him in the Tower and at the block,[1] while he himself died in the arms of Robert Nelson.[2]

He must have been as much distinguished for graces of person as of mind. The two portraits of him preserved at Lambeth agree in representing him as a man of strikingly attractive presence; and

[1] Dr Birch's Life of Tillotson (ed. 1753), p. 101. He had borne witness to Lord W. Russell's noble character at his trial.

[2] Ibid., p. 315.

have a special interest as marking the transition in the style of head-dress adopted at that time by the bishops. In the one by Sir Godfrey Kneller,[1] which worthily occupies the place of honour in the series on the walls of the Guard-Room, he appears, as in all other portraits of him[2] by that painter, in his natural hair, the familiar skull-cap of his predecessors being laid aside; while in the other, hanging in the adjoining gallery, he wears the full-curled wig now first appearing in the Episcopal dress; and is represented as seated, not in a spacious plain library-chair, as in Sir Godfrey's, but in one far more pretentious, the back culminating in a mitre, and the whole enclosed in an oval flat border. This portrait is said to have been the work of Mrs Maria Beale, a favourite pupil of Sir Peter Lely, who is known to have painted several likenesses of the Archbishop.[3] The more youthful character of the face leads to the impression that this likeness was taken before he was raised to the Primacy; and the mitre and lawn sleeves subsequently introduced, and by some less skilled hand.[4]

On the sudden death of Tillotson, many eyes were turned on Stillingfleet, the learned and able

[1] Lysons (Environs of London, vol. iv. p. 595) says it is a duplicate of one by Sir Godfrey, and was presented to the Palace by Archbishop Moore.

[2] One of which was in the gallery of Lord Somers, and another was in the possession of the then Master of the Rolls.

[3] In all of which he appears in a wig.

[4] Lysons (Environs of London, vol. iv. p. 595, n.) clearly favours this view.

Bishop of Worcester, as his most fitting successor; but Court opinion ruled that "both his notions and his temper were too high," and pronounced in favour of THOMAS TENISON as having one important qualification for the post, that "he would do no harm."[1] His antecedents were not, however, insignificant. In early life he was Rector of St Andrew's the Great at Cambridge; and when the plague broke out and scattered nearly all the members of his College, he remained manfully at the post of duty and danger; and when subsequently appointed to the Royal Parish of St Martin's-in-the-Fields, which Burnet calls "the greatest Cure in England,"[2] he boldly denounced and opposed the efforts of James II. to restore Popery. On the accession of William III., the strong recommendation of his friend the newly appointed Primate Tillotson secured for him the Bishopric of Lincoln, from whence he soon passed to be his successor at Lambeth.[3] His career at St Martin's had not been uneventful. He had ministered at the deathbed of Nell Gwynne, and also attended the unfortunate Duke of Monmouth on the scaffold. He, too, presented a striking contrast to his predecessor in person as in intellectual power; a gentle, amiable, retiring student, described by Mackay as "a plain, good, heavy man," following one in

[1] Burnet's History of his own Time (1857), p. 606.
[2] Ibid., p. 130.
[3] Birch's Life of Tillotson, p. 253.

whom the effect of brilliant eloquence was heightened by an attractive and commanding bearing. Gilbert Burnet, never over-ready to praise his contemporaries, said of him, in his administration of the Cure of St Martin's, that "he had many friends and no enemies," and that he, when Archbishop, more than once rebuked William III. for his intrigues with Lady Elizabeth Villiers. The philanthropic Garth has strongly testified to his worth—

> "Good Tenison's celestial piety
> At last has raised him to the sacred See."[1]

The opinion generally held of him by his contemporaries is best shown in the *sobriquet* by which he appears to have been known; he was commonly called "the Rock," on account of his steadfastness of character.[2] But perhaps the most valuable testimony to his excellence, and one having a special bearing on our present subject, is that of Mary, with whom he was not perhaps a great favourite, who yet, when some Courtiers attempted to sneer at him, and prejudice her against him for having dwelt in his funeral sermon on the penitence of the unhappy Nell Gwynne, replied, "If I can read a man's heart through his looks, had she not made a truly pious and Christian end, the Doctor would never have

[1] The Dispensary, canto ii. 65 (*var.*)

[2] See Hoadley's Works, vol. i. p. 556, n., quoted in Perry's History of the Church, vol. iii. p. 277.

been induced to speak well of her." Such is the face, painted by Simon du Bois,[1] homely but honest, hanging beside the handsome Tillotson, of the man who succeeded him in the See, and held it from 1694 to 1717—the studious book-loving Tenison, who has left his mark in Lambeth Library as no other occupant of the See has done.

Tenison was succeeded by WILLIAM WAKE, who held the Primacy for some twenty years from 1716 to 1737. He was said by Hasted to have been a member of an influential Dorsetshire family; but believed to have been also connected with the old Lincolnshire Wakes, of pre-Norman ancestry, who claim descent from Hereward Wac, or de Wac, the Anglian patriot and hero who so bravely resisted the Conqueror in the Eastern Counties.[2] Archbishop Wake was a divine of considerable learning, and the author of many valuable works, chiefly controversial. The first which brought him into note was a very powerful reply to a work from no less formidable an antagonist than Bossuet, then Bishop of Meaux. Atterbury also found in him one of his most trenchant opponents. He made a vigorous though futile attempt to bring about an amalgamation with

[1] So noted in the List of Portraits preserved among "Cole's Additional MSS." in the British Museum.

[2] This descent is certified by Sir Henry St George, Clarenceux; and is recorded in a MS. Memoir by the Archbishop, in the possession of Mrs Best, of Park House, Boxley, Kent.

foreign Churches, to which his early residence abroad as Chaplain to Lord Preston, then ambassador at the French Court, had doubtless inclined him. He is generally believed to have greatly disappointed his Whig patrons, who looked for grateful support in their Arian sympathies; but they soon found him too stanch a supporter of Church principles and doctrine to fall in with their views. Although he could not resist the force of the stream of Court favour which was carrying Hoadley from See to See, he was able to prevent Rundle, as an avowed Arian, if not a Deist, being appointed to an English Bishopric.[1] It is one of the traditions of Lambeth that he was the last Archbishop who went to Parliament by water; and from his time it would seem that the State Barge fell into comparative disuse. It is not so generally known that he too was a benefactor to this collection of portraits, though those which he bequeathed, of Whitgift, Bancroft, and Juxon,[2] are probably the duplicates hanging in the Long Gallery, and not those which occupy their places in the series in the Guard-Room. His portrait is ascribed to Isaac Whood.

Still more conspicuous for learning was the next

[1] Perry's History of the English Church, vol. iii. p. 399.

[2] Extract from Archbishop Wake's will: "I bequeath to my successors . . . . the pictures of Archbishops Whitgift, Bancroft, and Juxon, all which are hung up or lye in my gallery at Lambeth; together with that of 'the Disciples afishing,' which hangs over the chimney in the Presence-Chamber, and which I bought of the *exors.* of my predecessor."—Lambeth MSS.

occupant of the Archiepiscopal See, JOHN POTTER (1737 to 1747), the author, among other learned works, of 'Archæologia Græca.' His advancement to the Primacy is another striking illustration of the possibility of men of lowly birth rising to the highest offices in Church or State by their own individual merits. His appointment was under remarkable circumstances. Gibson, then Bishop of London, was looked upon as Wake's successor —so much so, that he was often called "the Heir-Apparent of Canterbury;"[1] but his opposition of Walpole's attempt to carry the "Quakers' Relief" Bill threw him into disfavour, and cost him the Primacy."[2]

There hangs in the adjoining gallery a picture in which may be traced, somewhat singularly, the promise of Archbishop Potter's early life: it represents a boy with a face full of intelligence, his hand inserted between the pages of a well-bound book, while a scroll records—"*ætatis suæ VI anno* 1679." The appearance of this picture in Lambeth is not without interest. In the year 1842, a yeoman Churchwarden of a Northamptonshire parish casually mentioned to his Rector that there had descended to an ancestor of his, and was now in his possession, a picture which family tradition said was the likeness of a very clever little boy, the son

[1] It was currently said that the fear of Gibson being his successor induced Wake to will away his Library to Christ Church, Oxford, instead of leaving it at Lambeth.

[2] Coxe's Life of Walpole, vol. ii. p. 373.

of a linen-draper at Wakefield, in Yorkshire, who at the age of six years could read the Greek Testament (and had read it up to the place marked in the book he holds in his hand), and who afterwards became Archbishop of Canterbury. Now Archbishop Potter was the son of a Wakefield linen-draper, and was born *about* the year 1674, which would place him in his sixth year in 1679, the date thus confirming the tradition, and supplying a clue to the identification: the little volume, too, looks as if it might well have been a Greek Testament; and the boy's mind must have been one of unwonted precocity, such as is always ascribed to Potter, to find pleasure in such reading at six years of age. The picture itself, probably the work of some local artist,—showing a bright, intelligent child, with long flaxen curls,—is not without merit; and, rescued from oblivion in a small bedroom in a Northamptonshire farmhouse, and presented to Archbishop Howley, is appropriately and happily preserved within the Palace of which the subject was so distinguished an occupant during the last ten years of his life.[1]

On Potter's death the Primacy was offered to Sherlock, Bishop of London, and next to Butler of Bristol; but on its being declined by both, it was

[1] For these particulars the author is indebted to a private letter from the late Rev. Thomas James, Rector of Sibbertoft and Theddingworth, in Northamptonshire, dated Nov. 28, 1842, to his friend the Rev. Benjamin Harrison, then Domestic Chaplain to Archbishop Howley, and now Archdeacon of Maidstone.

then offered to THOMAS HERRING, Archbishop of York, who held it for ten years, from 1747 to 1757. He was a man of cultivated mind, but more distinguished for political activity than for administrative power. Indeed he is supposed to have owed his speedy promotion from York to Canterbury to the strong support he gave to the house of Hanover in the memorable rising of '45. His is one of the comparatively few portraits from the easel of Hogarth, so much better known for his satirical or home-scene paintings.

Next to him came MATTHEW HUTTON, also promoted from York; but his tenure of the Primacy was a very brief one, extending only over a few months (1757 to 1758). He seemed to come of a family of Bishops, and was the direct lineal descendant of his namesake, the Dr Matthew Hutton who had preceded him in the See of York in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. His portrait is by Hudson, who was by some regarded as "the first portrait-painter of the day," and even as "another Vandyck *incognito;*" while a modern critic has described his art as containing the "very dregs of the old traditions."[1]

A gallery which can boast its Holbein, its Van-

[1] Coming between his father-in-law, Richardson, "to whom he was much inferior," and the illustrious painter Sir Joshua Reynolds, who was for a short time his pupil, Hudson's fame and popularity can only be accounted for, as it is by Sir Joshua's biographer, Leslie, on the ground that only for want of a better he became the principal portrait-painter in England.—Leslie's Life of Sir Joshua Reynolds, vol. i. p. 20.

dyck, and its Hogarth, should not be without its Sir Joshua; and from the easel of that distinguished painter we have the portrait of THOMAS SECKER, who was Archbishop from 1758 to 1768. From Secker's antecedents, his rise to the Primacy could have been little anticipated, for he, like his schoolfellow and lifelong friend, the distinguished Joseph Butler, Bishop of Durham, was the son of Dissenting parents. The gift of preaching, so rare in the Church at that day, but so much cultivated in the Nonconformist connection to which he belonged, probably helped to bring him into note after he had been admitted into English Orders.

His rise, considering the many stages through which he passed, was one of almost unprecedented rapidity. Ordained in 1722, within twelve years he was Rector of the Royal Parish of St James's, Westminster; two years after, Bishop of Bristol; in another two years translated to Oxford; and raised to the Primacy in 1758. He was an elegant rather than a profound scholar. The memorials which he left behind of his zeal and activity are to be found, not in writings of his own, but in a collection of books, and manuscripts, and collations, which are among the most valuable of the treasures in Lambeth Library.[1] Unhappily in this as in other portraits in the Palace and elsewhere by the same hand, the too common defect of the pigments used by Sir Joshua Reynolds during a particular

[1] See p. 93.

period of his life betrays itself, leaving a deathlike or rather leprously pallid complexion.

The succession of men who had attained to the highest dignity in the Church from comparatively humble origin — notably among them Sheldon, Sancroft, Tillotson, Potter, Secker—is here broken by the advancement of a scion of a noble house, Frederick Cornwallis, a younger son of Charles, fourth Baron Cornwallis, the first Primate of high birth since the days of Cardinal Reginald Pole. At a period when life and energy were so rare in the Church at large,[1] we must not be surprised that so little remains to be recorded of his Episcopate, which extended from 1768 to 1783. What may sound as faint praise in the latter part of the nineteenth century, would be regarded a hundred years ago as a high tribute to a Primate's worth, that he "discharged the duties of his high office with attention, punctuality, and decorum." To which the same contemporary authority adds—"In shining talents and extensive learning, other Prelates may have been superior to him; but in solid sense and understanding, in a right discernment of men and

[1] An instance of the general laxness prevalent among high ecclesiastics at that time is given by Jesse in his Memoirs of the Reign of George III., vol. ii. p. 58. The King felt called upon to address to the Primate in 1772 an autograph letter remonstrating with him for having permitted *routs* to make their way into the Palace,—"a residence," says the King, then a young man, "which for many centuries has been devoted to divine studies, religious retirement, and the extensive exercise of charity and benevolence; a place where so many of your predecessors have led their lives in such sanctity as has thrown lustre on the pure religion they professed and adorned."

things, in prudence, moderation, and benevolence, in affability, candour, and hospitality, none of his predecessors have exceeded him."[1] Be it also noted to his honour, that he effected a change in the domestic arrangements of Lambeth, which came from him with all the better grace,—it could not, without considerable difficulty, have come from any one who was not himself of high birth,—he abolished "that odious distinction"[2] which had hitherto assigned to the Chaplains a lower place in the Dining-Hall, and received them as companions at his own table.

There is a fine portrait of him by Dance, in which are happily represented all these gentler traits of his character. It would be unjust to pass on from the portrait of Archbishop Cornwallis without special mention of the gifts with which he adorned this gallery. To him, as has been incidentally noted, or more correctly perhaps, to his widow, it is indebted for copies of the likenesses of several of his predecessors,—that of Arundel from Penshurst Place, of Juxon from Long Leat, of Sheldon from Broom Hall, of Sancroft from Emmanuel College, Cambridge,—by which so many gaps in the series have been filled up; and also for a small portrait on panel, of Archbishop Parker, bearing the date 1572.[3]

[1] Nichols's Literary Anecdotes, &c., vol. viii. p. 15.
[2] See Dr Denne's character of the Archbishop, ibid.
[3] Ducarel's Lambeth Palace, p. 87.

We now again see the Primacy conferred upon one who, like so many before him, had risen out of the middle classes, and who attained this high position under circumstances of peculiar interest. On the death of Cornwallis, the vacant Primacy was at once offered to Bishop Lowth, whose refined and profound learning was shedding no ordinary lustre on the See of London; but he declined the Archbishopric out of sincere affection for his own diocese, and on the plea of advanced age. It was then offered to Bishop Hurd, of Worcester, a brilliant scholar, and at that time in high favour with the King and the Royal family; but he also declined it on the plea of old age and "love of lettered ease." Each of the two was then separately asked by George III. to recommend the most fitting man for the post; and both without previous concert named Dr JOHN MOORE, at that time Bishop of Bangor.[1] The general Ecclesiastical stagnation of the time gave little occasion for the exercise or display of his undoubted talents; and although his name is too frequently associated with the prevailing nepotism of that age, in which perhaps he was only more noted than others from the greater opportunities afforded by his high office, it should ever be remembered that he rendered his Episcopate, from 1783 to 1805, memorable by being the first Primate who succeeded in obtaining a public recognition of the claims of the

[1] Nichols's Literary Anecdotes, &c., vol. viii. p. 95, n.

Colonies to Episcopacy. The Churches of North America and of Nova Scotia rejoice to trace their Apostolic Succession from his hands; as will be more fully dwelt upon in speaking of the Chapel.

Romney's portrait of Archbishop Moore does full justice to the intellectual vigour of mind which accompanied a strikingly handsome face and dignified bearing.

Another likeness of Moore hangs over the fireplace in the private dining-room. The peculiarity of the attitude, the face being turned away and only one cheek visible, is not without its significance; for during the latter years of his life an eruption on one cheek is reported to have somewhat marred the fine countenance for which he had been distinguished, and all likenesses taken during this period were in profile.

The appointment of Archbishop Moore's successor was attended with some circumstances of more than passing interest, as showing how Church patronage had come to be dispensed, and how George III. on this occasion personally asserted the Royal prerogative. The illness of the Archbishop was known to be serious, and his death imminent; and men assigned, in anticipation, the vacant See to Bishop Tomline (who two years before had dropped the name of Pretyman); for he had been Pitt's private tutor at Cambridge, and had remained ever since his friend and favoured

protégé. Already had he been raised to the See of Lincoln, and was regarded as Archbishop elect; for his patron Pitt was then in the zenith of his power. However, the Deanery of Windsor was at that time held by Dr Charles Manners Sutton, who was also Bishop of Norwich, and in high favour with Royalty. Directly the intelligence of Archbishop Moore's death reached the King, he at once rode down to the Deanery, and calling the Dean away from the dinner-table, where he was entertaining a party of friends, he took him by both hands and greeted him—"My Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, I wish you joy![1] Now, not a word, —go back to your guests." The next morning Pitt arrived at Windsor with the recommendation of his friend Bishop Tomline for the Primacy, when the King told him, "It can't be—it can't be; I have already wished Sutton joy, and he must go to Canterbury."[2] That, at any rate, was a "Crown appointment," and one which, though based mainly on personal friendship, did full justice to the King's choice; for in those days, when *quieta non movere* seemed to be the principle of Church rule, Manners Sutton's high-bred courtesy and cultured mind met the moderate demands of the age probably more successfully than the greater

[1] "My Lord's Grace of Canterbury, you are very welcome!" was the greeting with which James I. met Laud when summoned to Whitehall two days after Abbott's death.—Denne's Addenda to Lambeth Palace, p. 183.

[2] The incident is given fully in Lord Stanhope's Life of Pitt, vol. iv. p. 252.

talents but less independent spirit of Tomline would have done. The gentleness and nobility of his character have been happily embodied in the portrait by Sir Thomas Lawrence, and seem fully to justify the high praise of a contemporary writer who, ten years before the appointment was made, had said, "No man appears to me so peculiarly marked out for the HIGHEST DIGNITY of the Church, *sede vacante*, as Dr Manners Sutton."[1]

WILLIAM HOWLEY followed next in order, and held the See for twenty years—from 1828 to 1848. He possessed a high order of intellect, and a richly cultivated mind. He was a finished classic, and a theologian of no mean power; and while the gentleness of his nature led him to be ever seeking after peace, he yet possessed a judicial firmness of purpose which refused to compromise in any way a vital principle. This steadfastness was signally shown in the closing days of his life, when the question was pending as to the obligation to consecrate a nominee of the Crown whose orthodoxy was gravely called in question.[2] During twenty momentous years did he control the religious movements of the age with such gentle firmness that the control was scarcely recognised; his gentleness conciliating all parties, yet his firmness keeping all within bounds—so that men of either extreme loved

[1] The Pursuits of Literature, p. 316, n.

[2] With reference to the appointment of Dr Hampden to the See of Hereford in 1846.

and respected him. His character has been well described by Bishop Doane of New Jersey, as "the impersonation of Apostolic meekness, sweetening Apostolic dignity."[1] To his active co-operation was greatly due the rapid increase of the Colonial Episcopate; and although he was prevented by sickness from taking part in the memorable consecration of five Bishops in one day—St Bartholomew's Day, 1842—in Westminster Abbey, he was permitted himself, five years after, to consecrate four more in the same noble building. When he was raised to the Primacy there were only five Colonial Bishoprics; before his death no less than twenty-two Bishops were spread over our Colonial Empire. Nor must an Act more directly affecting the Home Church be overlooked—the passing of which was mainly due to his zealous efforts—that by which the pulpits of the English Church were opened to the bishops and clergy of Scotland and America. One who knew and honoured him may be forgiven for expressing a regret that that beautiful combination of benignity with decision is not more happily and faithfully expressed in the portrait by Sir Martin Shee, which has its place in the Gallery.

He was succeeded by JOHN BIRD SUMNER, who had for many years been Bishop of Chester. He, too, had in early life been credited with a

[1] Introduction to Sermons on Various Subjects, &c. (1842), by the Right Rev. George Washington Doane, Bishop of New Jersey.

refined scholarship, and had given promise of considerable theological depth and power.[1] His administration of the See of Chester was marked with more than ordinary zeal and devotion; he was conspicuous as a preacher rather than as a divine: but a tendency, which grew with his advance in years as in dignity, to identify himself with one "school," rather than to be the "Moderator" of the Church, as his predecessor had been, in days when the two "schools of thought" were beginning to cause divisions in the Church, led many of those whose views he so vehemently opposed to lose sight of his real worth and earnest piety, and thus perhaps to rob him of much of that respect to which his office and his holiness of character entitled him.

There are two portraits of Archbishop Sumner in the Palace: the one which closes the series in the Guard-Room is by Eddis; the other, hanging in the adjoining corridor, is a copy of one by Mrs Carpenter. In both is preserved that expression of simplicity and genuineness of character for which he was distinguished.

On his death CHARLES THOMAS LONGLEY, who had been the first Bishop of the newly formed See of Ripon, was selected for the Primacy. After spending twenty years in his first See, he passed in six years through those of Durham and York to that of Canterbury. During his short Archi-

[1] Especially in the first edition of his Apostolic Preaching, 1815.

episcopate of barely six years—from 1862 to 1868—he evinced a power for administration, of which he had already given proofs in the lesser sphere of the Ripon Diocese, combined with a benignity of disposition, which won for him the love and honour of every "school" and every grade in the English Church. The one event for which his occupancy of the Metropolitical See will be best remembered was the gathering of the first "Pan-Anglican Conference" of Bishops—an act which, while it marks an epoch in the history of the English Church, is a striking memorial of the profound judgment and true catholicity of mind for which Archbishop Longley was conspicuous through life. By this act he especially showed how deeply he realised, and had the courage to give visible expression to, that great spiritual headship of the Anglican Communion which centred in the Metropolitical chair of Canterbury. His portrait, a *replica* by Richmond, strikingly indicative of his real character, hangs at present in the large drawing-room; there being no more available space in the Guard-Room.

Here also hangs that of the late Primate, Archibald Campbell Tait, by Sant, of which we cannot refrain from saying that we wish it did more justice both to the subject and to the artist. A second has lately been added from the easel of Richmond, far more pleasing and truthful. Archbishop Tait's career has indeed been an eventful

one; but it would be presumptuous to offer any opinion upon it beyond the expression of a belief that the verdict of a future age will assign to him a high place among the occupants of the See, and accredit him with no ordinary zeal and earnestness in the administration of the Church during one of its gravest crises; while his heavy domestic afflictions have more than once or twice called forth from the highest to the lowliest in the land the nation's sympathy towards one "sorrowful, yet alway rejoicing." Following in the steps of his respected predecessor, he convened the second Pan-Anglican Conference in 1878, of which fuller mention will be made in connection with the Chapel. There were gathered together one hundred Bishops in communion with the Anglican Church, comprising those of the United States as well as of our distant Colonies in every quarter of the globe—nearly all of whom could trace their Apostolic functions to consecrations held in the adjoining Chapel of the Palace.

Besides this series of Archbishops, the Palace contains a miscellaneous array of Bishops and others—most of whom were more or less closely connected with different occupants of the See by position or friendship—whose portraits possess not only personal interest, but in some cases an artistic value. These hang on the walls of the Long Gallery; or for lack of space there, or on the ground

of special merit, are distributed over the private drawing-rooms and dining-room.

The earliest of these in point of time is that of Richard Fox, Bishop of Winchester in the reigns of Henry VII. and Henry VIII. He was the friend of Warham; and in conjunction with his relative John Fox, then Archdeacon of Winchester, contributed liberally towards the erection of the tower of Lambeth Parish Church.[1] To this may probably be traced the presence of his picture in the Palace. It very strikingly resembles the well-known portrait in the Hall of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, of which he was the munificent founder; the chief difference being that the meditative expression of the eyes given in both is here upraised instead of downcast, and that the hands, instead of resting upon a staff, are laid upon a skull.

A small portrait on panel of Thomas Bilson, Bishop of Winchester from 1597 to 1616, whose friendship for Laud and influence over him in his early years probably won for it a place here, is one of the very few extant of that loyal and true man. His arms, with those of the See *per pale*, appear in one corner of the picture, and in another, "An. 1611, Æt. suæ 64."

[1] Ducarel's Lambeth Palace, p. 27. Lysons (Environs of London, vol. i. p. 277) says it was the west end of the church which they joined in restoring; and certainly the arms of Warham and Fox may still be seen on the corbels which support the roof of the nave. Lambeth was in the Diocese of Winchester until 1877, when it was transferred to the enlarged and re-arranged Diocese of Rochester.

In connection with Laud and the troubles of his days appears the portrait of another Royalist—Dr Christopher Wren, the father of the great Architect. He was one of the Chaplains of Charles I., and Dean of Windsor, and as such Registrar of the most noble Order of the Garter. He drew up, in MSS., a catalogue of the Knights of that Order, from its foundation by Edward III. to the year 1638, and styles himself "*Servus et scriba hujus ordinis.*" The portrait at Lambeth represents the author wearing his scarlet mantle of office; while suspended by a heavy chain from his neck, and lying on his breast, is *the book*, a goodly quarto, very gorgeously bound, bearing on its cover the letters C. R. under a crown, and two quills crossed within the ribbon of the Order. This book is preserved among the MSS. in the library of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge.[1] The likeness must have been to the life, if he bore any family resemblance to his elder brother, Bishop Matthew Wren of Norwich; for it answers wonderfully to Clarendon's description of the Bishop, that he was "a man of a severe sour nature, but very learned."[2] Nothing seems to be known of the circumstances under which the portrait and the book became separated; how the one came to Lambeth and the other went to Cambridge;[3] or how such odious

[1] Where it appears in the Library Catalogue, MS. 324, "Laurea Carolina."
[2] History of the Rebellion, vol. i. p. 42.
[3] Dr Christopher Wren was a Fellow of St John's College, Oxford.

mementos of a suspended Royalty and an exiled nobility escaped in the general demolition by the Parliamentarians.

These were isolated portraits, each telling its own tale. Then follow those of several contemporaneous Bishops, which, though distributed about in the Gallery, or in the private apartments, admit of being grouped and contemplated as representatives of a great movement, which in reality, but most undesignedly, found its source in Lambeth Palace, and affected the entire after-character of the English Church. It may not be uninteresting to take up here the thread of history by which these are strung together.

Early in May 1688, as is well known, James II., in the hope of furthering his Romanising proclivities, attempted to enforce the order for the "Declaration for Liberty of Conscience." His motives were at once detected; and the great body of Bishops, with the leading Clergy, resolved on resistance. Several consultations were held at Lambeth, one especially noteworthy on the 18th of May,[1] when it was resolved to petition the King to revoke the obnoxious order. At that meeting were present the Archbishop Sancroft; Bishops Compton, of London; Lloyd, of St Asaph; Turner, of Ely; Lake, of Chichester; Ken, of Bath and Wells; White, of Peterborough; and Tre-

[1] D'Oyly's Life of Sancroft, vol. i. p. 257; Birch's Life of Tillotson, p. 267.

lawney, of Bristol; with Drs Tillotson, Dean of Canterbury; Stillingfleet, Dean of St Paul's; Patrick, Dean of Peterborough; Tenison, Vicar of St Martin's; Sherlock, Master of the Temple, &c. Of these eight bishops, seven[1] were soon after the victims, and the heroes, of the memorable trial and acquittal which tended only to hasten the downfall of James; and when the further question arose, of transferring their allegiance from James to William III., five of them, and several clergy, refused, and were dispossessed of their Sees and parishes. The secession of these "Non-juror Bishops," and the deaths of several others, left at this time so many vacancies on the Bench as to enable the King to inaugurate his reign by selecting for the posts thus vacated the leading men who had then proclaimed themselves on his side. Within two years he nominated fifteen Bishops. Among them were several of that Lambeth gathering,—Lloyd, who was promoted from St Asaph to Coventry, and then to Worcester; Trelawney, from Bristol to Exeter, and to Winchester; Deans Tillotson, of Canterbury, to the Primacy, to be succeeded there, three years after, by Tenison, from Lincoln; Stillingfleet, to Worcester; Patrick, to Chichester, and soon after to Ely; Hough, to Oxford; Moore, to Norwich and

[1] Bishop Compton was not included in this charge, being at that time suspended from his See, for refusing to suspend Dr Sharp from his Benefice for preaching against Popery.

to Ely; Gardiner, to Lincoln; Williams to Chichester; Evans, to Bangor; Fleetwood to St Asaph and to Ely. All these, except Fleetwood, were also members of the Ecclesiastical Commission which, with Archbishop Tenison at their head, William III. appointed in 1700 to act for him during his absence in Holland, in selecting candidates for Crown patronage. They all, Burnet is at the pains to tell the world, had been the personal selection of the King; and he describes them, himself being first and foremost, as "the learnedest, the wisest, and the best men that were in the Church."[1] The wisdom and firmness of many of them were, under God, instrumental in moderating the extremes into which William might otherwise have attempted to carry the Church movement of that day. The presence of such a group of portraits at Lambeth was doubtless another proof of Tenison's public spirit, and of his admiration of his more immediate fellow-helpers, thus evinced in his desire to surround himself with their likenesses in the Gallery[2] where they were among his most frequent visitors.

Two portraits are wanting—those of Trelawney and Stillingfleet. The absence of the former may probably be accounted for by the distance of his remote western diocese from the centre of Church

[1] Burnet's History of his own Time, p. 569.

[2] Nearly all this series formerly hung in the old Gallery over the Eastern Cloisters.—Ducarel's Lambeth Palace, pp. 86, 87.

life. But hardly so that of Stillingfleet, as his acknowledged learning and influence, and his former connection with the metropolis, would naturally keep up his association with the current events of those stirring times; and undoubtedly it was to the surprise, and contrary to the wishes, of the great body of Churchmen, that Tenison was advanced to the Primacy instead of Stillingfleet. Could it be that there lurked any feeling of reciprocated jealousy, because the quiet Vicar of St Martin's was selected instead of the more distinguished divine, who had already risen from the Deanery of St Paul's to the Bishopric of Worcester? Whatever was the cause, the beautiful face of Stillingfleet, so expressive of his beauty of mind,[1] has no place amongst his compeers in Lambeth.

Of those who are here represented, a few words may not be unacceptable. Dr WILLIAM LLOYD,[2] who, already Bishop of St Asaph, attended the Lambeth meeting in 1688, and for whose learning and judgment Sancroft had high regard, was one of the "seven Bishops" committed to the Tower; but not joining them in refusing allegiance to the Prince of Orange, he was among the earliest whose loyalty was rewarded. The circumstances of his appointment are given by Macaulay, and prove

[1] Stillingfleet's strikingly handsome face and piety of mind obtained for him the *sobriquet* of "the beauty of holiness."

[2] This Bishop Lloyd must not be confounded with his Episcopal namesake, who at the same time filled the See of Norwich, and eventually joined the Non-juror secession.

that William III. made his own personal selections for the vacant bishoprics. On the See of Worcester, a very lucrative and much-coveted one, becoming vacant, "several Whig lords wanted to secure it for Bishop John Hall, of Bristol; but the King, angry at their opposition to his wishes about the Standing Army, refused: 'I pay as much respect to your wishes as you and yours have paid to mine;' and gave it to Lloyd."[1] This portrait well represents him with that gentle simplicity of character which Burnet ascribes to him, as being "a holy, humble, and patient man, ever ready to do good."[2]

John Hough, who eventually succeeded him in Worcester, represents a somewhat similar, yet higher, type of character. He had really been the first to resist the unconstitutional action of James II.; for when, in 1687, the King attempted to impose an unqualified Romanist nominee in the vacant Chair of the President of Magdalen College, Oxford, Hough headed the resistance on the part of the Fellows; who, in recognition of his conduct, elected him to the Presidentship, in defiance of the King. He was of course at once expelled, but on the first advance of the Prince of Orange was reinstated; and when William III. was seated on the throne, a vacancy in the See of Oxford, in 1690, gave him the opportunity of

[1] Macaulay's History of England, vol. v. p. 179.
[2] Burnet's History of his own Time, p. 130.

rewarding Hough's loyalty: soon after he was promoted to that of Lichfield and Coventry, and eventually to Worcester,[1] where he died, in 1743, in his ninety-third year, leaving behind him a name "honoured and beloved." Under a characteristic monument, by Roubilliac, in that Cathedral, is a long inscription, describing him as the "ever-memorable President of Magdalen," which, dwelling upon his learning, prudence, and piety, no less than his courage, sums up his character in these few words—"It was the business and pleasure of his life to serve God and to do good." Such a character is here admirably portrayed on canvas, by no less worthy a hand than that of Sir Godfrey Kneller, and is a fitting companion to that artist's portrait of Tillotson.[2]

Simon Patrick is also one of this group, as he had been through life one of this company of Divines. As Dean of Peterborough he had joined them at Lambeth in 1688; and in 1689 he joined them on the Bench as Bishop of Chichester, and was, two years after, translated to Ely. Constancy was one of the leading traits of his character,

[1] He is said to have declined the See of Canterbury on Tenison's death in 1715.

[2] Wilmot's Life of Hough—to which work a fine engraving from this painting, by Caroline Watson, forms the frontispiece. In Bloxam's Biographical Register of the Demies of Magdalen, vol. ii. p. 307, mention is made of two other portraits,—one in the College Hall at Magdalen, bequeathed by the Bishop himself to his kinsman, Theophilus Biddulph, of Birbury, and presented to the College by Lady Biddulph; the other, in the President's Lodgings, probably a copy of the one in the Hall.

whether in personal courage or unflinching adherence to his maturely-formed opinions. He gave early proof of that steadfastness of purpose and unswerving devotion to duty, when, as Vicar of St Paul's, Covent Garden, at the height of the Plague, he never left his post, though all around were fleeing away from London. His many works proclaim him as devotional in spirit as he was vigorous in intellect: an acute and profound casuist, as well as a learned theologian, he occupied a leading place among the champions of the English Church against the claims and pretensions of Rome. His countenance no doubt has a certain austere expression; but that may have been due rather to the mental discipline to which his polemical career subjected him, than to any natural sternness of disposition, of which his many writings betray not a trace. Burnet, himself of so different a stamp of mind, qualifies his praise of his greater contemporary by saying, "he was a little too severe against those who differed from him."[1]

Very different is the countenance, and widely opposite the character, of Bishop JOHN MOORE, who succeeded him at Ely, having been translated from Norwich. He was a man of undoubted learning, but was a perfect Bibliomaniac, and reputed[2] to be not over-scrupulous in the way in

[1] Burnet's History of his own Time (1857), p. 130.

[2] Ibid. p. 569, n.; Nichols's Literary Anecdotes, vol. ix. pp. 611, 612; Gough's British Topography, vol. ii. p. 224.

which he collected his books. Entertaining a supreme contempt for the acquirements of the great body of his Clergy, he did not hesitate to enrich his own library by plundering theirs, and would justify his action by saying, "*Quid illiterati cum libris?*"[1] Thus were supposed to have been accumulated far too large a portion of those 30,000 volumes, which, on his death, were bought by George I., and presented to the Cambridge University.

Here, too, are portraits of Bishops GARDINER of Lincoln (1694);[2] WILLIAMS, of Chichester (1696) —a very intimate friend of Archbishop Tillotson's, who used to say of him, that he was one of the best men he knew[3]—EVANS, of Bangor (1707); and FLEETWOOD, of Ely (1714)—regarded as incontestably the best preacher of his day;[4] but these, though among the divines of that day whom William III. selected for the Episcopate, and among the *coterie* whom Tenison delighted to gather around him, were of so much less repute as not to occupy any place in the general history of those times.

One, however, remains to be noticed, who, though the last on our list, really stands foremost in the group — GILBERT BURNET (1689). His portrait

[1] Nichols's Literary Anecdotes, vol. v. p. 410; Gough's British Topography, ibid.

[2] The dates here given are those which appear on the several portraits.

[3] Chalmers's Biographical Dictionary.

[4] Ibid.

is by an unknown artist; nor does it correspond exactly with the well-known picture by Mrs Hoadley,[1] though like that it represents him in the robes of Chancellor of the Order of the Garter, an office which then attached to the See of Salisbury. It is remarkable for the richness and brilliancy of its colouring, and seems to depict to the very life, in that smug, self-satisfied face, the man, whom Macaulay, a no less ardent admirer of William III., has described in not very flattering terms.[2] Yet Gilbert Burnet was a useful man in his day; and though faulty to a degree as a Historian, he has preserved much of the gossip of the time out of which history is written.

Another portrait by the same lady is also in this collection: it is that of her own husband, Benjamin Hoadley (1724), who, despite the imputations upon his orthodoxy, was successively Bishop of Bangor (in connection with which See he is best known for his controversial writings), of Hereford, and of Salisbury, in succession to Burnet, and eventually of Winchester. As a work of art, this picture is not considered equal to the preceding one. It has been facetiously observed that the artist had devoted special labour, and given grateful prominence, to the hand which made her a Bishop's wife.

A portrait of Dr Benjamin Whichcote should

[1] The second wife of Bishop Hoadley: under her maiden name of Miss Sarah Curtis she was well known as a portrait-painter.

[2] Macaulay's History of England, vol. ii. p. 177.

be noticed here; for though he did not belong to the Bench of Bishops, he was yet a leader of thought at that period, and was, moreover, closely associated with Tillotson. He was Provost of King's College, Cambridge, and founded what then came to be called "The Latitudinarian School." Tillotson himself was among his most distinguished pupils, and one of his most enthusiastic admirers. Preaching his funeral sermon, the Archbishop dwelt in glowing terms on the "profound learning" and the "Godlike temper and disposition" of his friend, and that "exemplary piety and devotion towards God, of which his whole life was one continued testimony;"[1] to Tillotson's personal esteem for him is no doubt due the presence of the portrait here.

Of the prelates of the later half of the eighteenth century, only a few portraits are here. Among them is one by Hudson of the scholarly Zachary Pearce (1747), Bishop of Bangor, and afterwards of Rochester, and Dean of Westminster, the friend of Archbishops Potter and Herring; and one of his still more distinguished contemporary in the See of Bristol, Thomas Newton (1761), the learned author of 'Dissertations on the Prophecies,' whose portrait, by Sir Joshua Reynolds, like that of his friend Archbishop Secker, betrays the defectiveness of the pigments at that period used by that artist.

[1] Birch's Life of Tillotson, and Chalmers's Biographical Dictionary.

The name of GEORGE BERKELEY, Bishop of Cloyne (1758), whose portrait is also here, by an unknown artist, deserves more than passing mention. However peculiar were his opinions on some metaphysical subjects, his was an appreciation of the Missionary obligations of the Church far in advance of his day—his was a zeal which many of his contemporaries regarded as Quixotic —his a self-devotion which some of them almost sneered at as fanatical; but his Church views, his zeal and self-devotion, subsequent generations have learned to look upon with admiration, and, in many respects, to emulate. A man who, rather than suffer the Aborigines of America to remain in heathenism on the borders of our "Plantations," would go and endeavour to convert them; who would give up the Deanery of Derry, one of the best preferments in Ireland, to spend, and to be spent, for the extension of the Church abroad; and who, when, after years of toil, and waiting for the fulfilment of promises made by the King and his all-powerful Minister, Walpole, compelled to return to England disappointed, only with great reluctance, and almost at the command of the King, would accept the comparatively poor Bishopric of Cloyne,—was one worthy of honour and of imitation. And his self-devotion and disinterestedness remained to the last. When he was afterwards offered, by Lord Chesterfield, the richer Bishopric of Clogher, with

the suggestion that he could at once raise a hundred thousand pounds by fines, Berkeley gave the characteristic reply, "I desire to add one more to the list of Churchmen who are dead to ambition and avarice."[1] Lambeth Palace is honoured by the portrait of such a man; and its presence here may be traced to the fact that Berkeley had not a more sympathising friend and advocate in his great missionary enterprise than Archbishop Secker.

Here are portraits of THOMAS HAYTER (1744), Bishop of Norwich and of London, and his successor in the latter See, RICHARD TERRICK (1764), by Dance; and by the same artist, JOHN THOMAS, of Winchester (1761); SIR THOMAS GOOCH, Bishop of Ely (1750), by Hudson; and his successor in that See, MATTHIAS MAWSON[2] (1771); JOHN DOUGLAS, Bishop of Carlisle, by Beechey; JOHN WARREN, of Bangor, by Gainsborough; and THOMAS RUNDLE, of Derry, who, being too avowed an Arian, if not a Deist, for an English Bishopric, was relegated to Ireland;[3] but the connection of these, especially the last, with Lambeth it is difficult to trace.

In addition to the foregoing are some portraits of men, who, though not belonging to the Episcopal

[1] Nichols's Literary Anecdotes, &c. Among other instances was the well-known one of Bishop Thomas Wilson of Sodor and Man, who refused the See of Exeter.

[2] Bishop Mawson's portrait is mentioned by Ducarel (p. 86); but has not been identified among those at present in the Gallery.

[3] Perry's History of the English Church, vol. iii. p. 399.

Bench, were officially connected with the Palace—Peter du Moulin, a learned and eloquent man, who, having been ejected from his living by the Parliamentarian Commission, was appointed Chaplain to Archbishop Juxon on the Restoration;[1] Dr Edmund Gibson (afterwards Bishop of London), Dr David Wilkins, and Henry Wharton, already mentioned among the Librarians.

It were a slight and an injustice to the memory of one who, though neither Bishop nor Librarian, held for nearly half a century a very close connection with the Palace, to allow his portrait to be omitted from our list. In the room in Morton's Gateway, still occupied, as it was by him and his predecessors, as the office of the secretary to the Archbishop, hangs the likeness of Ralphe Snow, who held the appointment of Steward, Receiver, and Treasurer, to four successive Primates—Sheldon, Sancroft, Tillotson, and Tenison.[2]

Other paintings, though having no direct connection with the Palace, have found a place here, and demand, from historical, if not artistic interest, to be mentioned. Here is a portrait of Martin Luther, which, Ducarel says, came out of an old collection of pictures at Nuremburg, and was

[1] Denne's Addenda to Ducarel's Lambeth, p. 221.

[2] He was a liberal benefactor to the adjoining Parish Church, in which he was buried; and it contains a Tablet recording his worth, as having "lived a pattern of Piety, Prudence, and Charity, and dyed full of years and good works, with the perfect use of his reason and understanding, in the 95th year of his age, March 21, MDCCVII."

presented to Lambeth by a friend of Archbishop Secker's.[1] It is on wood, and represents the vehement Reformer as if in the act of vigorous declamation against the errors of Rome.[2] Another painting, containing two figures, is supposed to be also a likeness of LUTHER AND HIS WIFE; but while it is generally praised as a work of art, very grave doubts are thrown upon its authenticity.

In the Private Dining-room hangs a picture which demands more lengthened notice.[3] It is a three-quarter-length painted on panel, the dress, of scarlet and gold, richly ornamented. It is traditionally reported to be the portrait of KATHERINE PARR; but no evidence or authority is forthcoming in support of such a theory. Ducarel calls it "a singular picture," as if he saw a difficulty in accepting the tradition, and internal evidence enough to make him doubt it. There certainly is not the slightest resemblance to any of the recognised extant portraits of that queen, either in face, figure, or dress. It is younger and more handsome; there is nothing *petite* about it—an epithet currently applied to Katherine Parr.[4] The headdress, made of cloth-of-gold richly ornamented,

[1] Ducarel's Lambeth Palace, p. 87, n.

[2] The attitude and expression call to mind the words in which Erasmus in a letter to Zwinglius compared his teaching with that of Luther—"Videor mihi fere omnia docuisse quæ docet Lutherus, nisi quod non tam atrociter," &c., quoted by Hallam, Literature of the Middle Ages, vol. i. p. 296.

[3] It is beautifully engraved in Herbert and Bayley's Lambeth Palace Illustrated.

[4] Miss Strickland's Lives of the Queens of England, vol. iii. p. 210.

and high-peaked, belongs rather to the times of the earlier Queens of that many-wived monarch;

Queen Katherine Parr.

whereas Katherine Parr, and also her predecessor in favour, Katherine Howard, are always represented in low, round, close-fitting velvet hoods, or caps of state. Then again, what probable con-

nection would Katherine Parr have with Lambeth? Pennant, indeed, who sails with the current of tradition, yet almost betrays a consciousness of its unsafeness, tries to find a reason in the favour which, to her own peril, she bore to the Reformed religion, of which at that time Cranmer and Lambeth might be regarded as the stay and home. But Horace Walpole, who could hardly have been ignorant of the tradition, evidently ignores it, and finds another original in "Katherine of Valois," the wife of Henry V.,[1] who lived a century before!

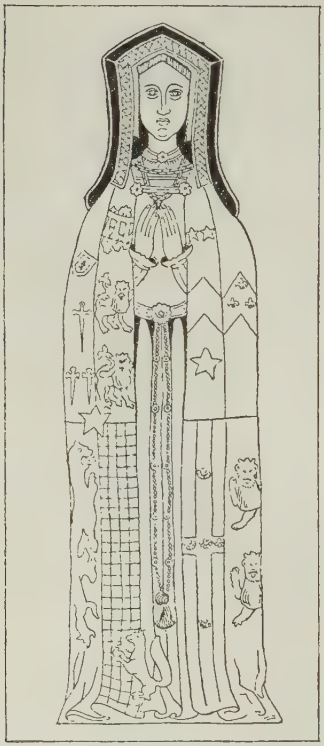
The question then arises, of which of these two Katherines is it the likeness? or is it the likeness of either? Internal evidence being decidedly against both, of whom is it the probable portrait?

Now in the adjoining Parish Church is a brass bearing a female figure in face and dress strikingly like this picture in the Palace,[2] and which, according to an inscription that formerly existed here, represented *Katherine Howard*, the first wife of Lord William Howard, brother of the then Duke of Norfolk, who was subsequently Lord High Admiral of the Fleet, and raised to the peerage as the first Lord Howard of Effingham. This Kath-

[1] "In the long gallery at Lambeth is an ancient portrait of Queen Catherine of Valois."—Walpole's Anecdotes of Painting (ed. 1849), p. 33.

[2] It formerly lay on its own stone in the Howard Chapel; but at the rebuilding of the Church in 1851-53, it was removed, and is now let in to the east wall of that Chapel. It is engraved in Allen's 'History of Lambeth,' p. 116.

erine Howard died in 1535, leaving an only daughter named Agnes. Lord William married again and had several other children. But he and his second wife were involved in the suspicion and disgrace which, however groundlessly, attached to every one who bore the name of Howard, in consequence of the misconduct of their unhappy and ill-fated kinswoman, his sister; and were for a time imprisoned. Their four little children, including no doubt the daughter of the first wife, had to be provided for. "The Council was greatly embarrassed what to do with them," as they were "thus rendered houseless;" and at length consigned them to the care of Archbishop Cranmer and some of their father's relations.[1] Assuming, as is not improbable, that it was the eldest daughter, the only child of the deceased first wife, who was placed under the charge of



Brass of Lady Howard in Lambeth Church.

[1] Miss Strickland's Queens of England, vol. iii. p. 157.

Cranmer, what more natural than that the likeness of the little orphan's mother should be sent with her to the Archbishop, and so find a home in Lambeth Palace? It may then, after all, be neither Katherine Parr nor Katherine of Valois, but this far less illustrious Katherine, the first wife of Lord William Howard, and sister-in-law of her unfortunate namesake, Queen Katherine Howard.

Of the next two noteworthy portraits there is no doubt; a very fine full-length of the idolised PRINCE HENRY, the eldest son of James I.; and one of CHARLES I., which, if not, as some maintain, an original by Vandyck, is a copy of great merit. It is remarkable that this latter picture should have passed unscathed through the hands of the Parliamentarians when in possession of the Palace, in their onslaught on all that belonged to Royalty. A tradition, indeed, existed that Laud had concealed it behind one of the bookcases in the old Library, and that it was only brought to light in clearing away that portion of the building in 1829. One part of this tradition is certainly untrue. The picture is included in the list preserved among the "Cole MSS." already referred to, which was made in 1798; and it was, moreover, engraved by Harding in 1826. Still the tradition may not be wholly without foundation; and like so many "obnoxious" objects of value, concealed for safety during those troublous times, this picture may for a time have

been "put out of sight," and so have been saved in that flood of fanatic destructiveness.

One other picture, the escape of which is almost more remarkable, must be noticed, for its own sake as well as for the accidental importance which those days of unreasoning frenzy have imparted to it. It represents "The Four Fathers of the Western Church," SS. Ambrose, Jerome, Augustine, and Gregory. These, grouped in pairs, occupy the foreground, while the dove, in a halo of glory, is hovering over them, and a fine yet distinct thread or ray of gold passes from its bill to the head of each of the four figures. As to its origin and early history, all is conjecture. It is painted on oak, which clearly marks it as English work, though its style as clearly connects it with the Flemish School of Art of the fifteenth century; and it, no doubt, formed the centre portion of a triptych. This is one—the only one now remaining—of the three[1] so-called "Superstitious Pictures" which furnished the ground for a charge of idolatry against Laud. In his defence he stated that he had no hand in bringing the picture into Lambeth

[1] History of the Troubles and Trial of Archbishop Laud, p. 314. The other two were the "Ecce Homo," Pilate leading forth Christ and presenting Him to the Jews; and an illustration of the Parable of the Sheepfold (St John x. 1, 2), "in which," said Laud in his Defence, "the Pope and a party of friars are climbing up to get into the windows and over the walls. So it is as directly against Popery as can be."—Ibid. Strange to say, all three pictures remained in the Gallery, and escaped demolition at the hands of Scot and Hardy; but these two have since disappeared, and all trace of them has been long lost.

House; he had found it in the Gallery, where it was reported to have been placed by Cardinal Pole.[1] Apparently on the strength of this statement, Ducarel, and all who have followed him, ascribe to the Cardinal the original introduction of it into this collection, whereas the words of Wharton may only mean that Pole had himself placed it in the Gallery which he had recently erected, and not necessarily that it then came to Lambeth for the first time. Now it is worthy of note that while the picture evidently bears an earlier date than the time of Pole, the subject of it would also suggest an earlier connection with the Palace. Archbishop Chicheley, after he had completed the building of the College of All Souls at Oxford, consecrated its Chapel to the memory of these four Saints, the "Latin Fathers."[2] May not then this picture, possibly of his date, have been placed within the Palace by Chicheley himself, and only have been removed by Pole into his new Gallery? If so, it becomes really an additional, and no insignificant, relic of the refined taste and pious liberality of that great benefactor to the Palace, Archbishop Chicheley.

A few more portraits deserve passing mention.

In the Long Gallery is one of a layman, which can scarcely fail to attract notice from the bright intelligence of the face as well as from the vigour

[1] So stated by H. Wharton in a marginal note.—Ibid., p. 315.

[2] Hook's Lives of the Archbishops, vol. v. p. 125.

and feeling which Dance has thrown into the painting. It is the likeness of George Hardinge, a member of the Kentish family of that name, who attained to considerable eminence at the Bar, and became Senior Justice on the Brecon Circuit in 1787, when the Welsh Judges constituted a distinct body. It is difficult to account for the presence of this picture at Lambeth, where, however, it is undoubtedly a welcome ornament.

Not so much can be said of a family group which occupies the walls of the vestibule between the Library and the Dining-Hall. Here are four full-length, life-sized portraits of the Townshend family, with which Archbishop Cornwallis was connected by marriage, and through whom these pictures found their way into the Palace: Charles, the 2d Viscount Townshend, for many years Secretary of State to George I. and George II.; and his more noted brother-in-law and successor in Court favour, Sir Robert Walpole; and between them the latter's sister Dorothy (Walpole), the second wife of Lord Townshend—as if linking together the husband and the brother, who had been for many years estranged by political rivalry and animosity; while the fourth portrait is that of William Townshend, the son by this second marriage, and the father of the Archbishop's wife.

Another group of family portraits was introduced by his successor. Archbishop Moore had married a sister of Sir William Eden, of diplomatic fame,

afterwards Lord Auckland; of whom is a portrait, said to be by Sir Thomas Lawrence; one also of his brother, Thomas Eden, who held an appointment at Greenwich Hospital, the cupola of which building appears in the background of the picture; one of their sister Dulcibella, and of her husband Matthew Bell, of Woolvington, near Newcastle-on-Tyne; and a fifth, which in the list in Cole's Additional MSS. is described as "Miss Moore, daughter of the Archbishop."

Is it high treason to hint that these two groups are misplaced here, and might be appropriately removed to the respective family seats, Edenthorpe in Salop, and Windlestone in Durham; and the space they now occupy be more advantageously filled with portraits connected with the Palace itself or the history of the English Church?

CHAPTER VII.

Cranmer's Tower.

At the north end of the Guard-Room, connected with it by a passage crossing at the east of the Chapel, lies another portion of the Palace, which, though it forms an imposing part of the group of buildings, possesses but few historical associations, and little of architectural character. It is a square tower of red brick, commonly known as "Cranmer's Tower," though on what authority it is now difficult to trace: local tradition, however, connects it with his name; and its general features certainly indicate that it is the work of that period.

The lower storey of this Tower could have been for some centuries little more than a passage-room between the Chapel and the dwelling apartments; serving, however, formerly (as it still does) the purpose of a vestry; and in this character, as we shall presently see, it possesses some little historical interest. The second storey, opening into the

Chapel itself, has long been used as an organ-chamber.[1] It goes by the name of Cranmer's Parlour. The room over it was his bed-chamber, with sleeping apartments above for the domestics.

[1] So mentioned in the Wills of Parker and Laud.

CHAPTER VIII.

"The Water Tower,"
commonly called "The Lollards' Tower."

PASSING beside the Guard-Room westward, through the present Picture-Gallery as it runs along the south wall of the Chapel, we enter that goodly pile which forms the extreme north-west corner of the Palace buildings, and, next to the Chapel, constitutes the most interesting portion of the whole range. The river-face to the west, and that to the north, are of grey stone; the other sides are of red brick. The whole block is commonly called the "Lollards' Tower;" but let us at the outset assert that this is a name to which it certainly has no right, either in whole or in part.

This is not a single structure, but a group of three buildings, very distinct in character, and representing very distinct periods of architecture. The central and most imposing portion bears on its river-face unquestionable marks of being nearly 450 years old. The deeply-moulded plinth, the

cusped tracery of the early Perpendicular windows, the bold freestone string-courses relieving the towering grey pile, an elegant tabernacle, or niche, in which formerly stood the image of St Thomas of Canterbury,—all mark the building as belonging to the earlier half of the fifteenth century; while the arms of Archbishop Chicheley, on a shield borne by the angel that supports the niche, point to the builder; and this is confirmed by the record in the 'Steward's Accounts,' that this Tower was erected by that Primate, and completed in the year 1435.[1]

Turning round the north-west corner, at some little elevation, can be traced, by the fresher look of the stonework, the outline of a large doorway,[2] and also—but not so distinctly—a flight of several steps connecting it with the ground. Time was, be it remembered, when between this Tower and the river there intervened no broad Embankment, not even the narrow "Bishop's Walk" with its row of elms—which only disappeared a few years since—but when, through a small creek, crossed

[1] Computus Ballivorum, 13 Henry VI., referred to at page 20. The entire stonework of this tower, windows, niche, and all, *except the arms* (!), were a few years ago restored by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners; into whose hands the charge of the fabric has now fallen.

[2] In the north wall inside, corresponding exactly with the traces of this doorway, until recently stood a lofty square-headed oaken door, by which these steps were reached and access gained to the river-side; but in the Ecclesiastical Commissioners' restorations and improvements, it has been *improved* out of existence. The Archbishop, on hearing of this act of Vandalism or ignorance, endeavoured to recover and replace the door, the single memento that remained of this old usage; but it had disappeared—carted off as lumber, or among the contractor's perquisites!

by a wooden bridge, at this point old Father Thames washed the very foundations of the Palace walls. Here was the landing-place that gave to this Tower the name, by which it was commonly known in early times, of the WATER TOWER. Here, through that door and down those steps, at the foot of which their barge would be moored, the Archbishops were wont to take boat and pass out in comparative privacy, whenever business or pleasure carried them across to Westminster, or London, or up the river. It was doubtless down these steps that the body of Archbishop Henry Deane, at the sudden close of his brief Primacy, A.D. 1503, was borne to the river's bank, where the barge with its thirty-three sable-clad boatmen was in attendance to convey it to Faversham on its way to Canterbury for burial.[1] By these steps would the ill-fated Anne Boleyn pass to and from the gloomy Crypt, in which sentence of divorce was pronounced upon her.[2] By these, too, would Cranmer have hastened to salute his Royal Master on the announcement of the approach of the King's barge towards the stairs close by,[3] when he was

[1] Hook, in his Lives of the Archbishops, gives (vol. v. p. 523) as his authority a MS. Register of Canterbury, and the following extract from Kennett: "Obiit Lambethæ; inde cadaver ejus per Thamesim fluvium a triginti tribus nautis nigro panno vestitis Faversamiam in cymbâ funebri more ornata cum cereis accensis ductum est."—Which is to be found in Kennett's MSS. Collections in the British Museum (Lansdowne, 1021), vol. lxxxvi. f. 78.

[2] As subsequently mentioned in the account of the Chapel.

[3] Ralph Morice's Anecdotes of Cranmer (Camden Society's ed., 1859),

to hear from Henry's lips of the plot by which the prebendaries and justices of Kent were trying to bring him under the lash of the "Six Articles." And by these steps would the unhappy Earl of Essex have entered when sheltered from the storm on his way as a prisoner to the Tower.[1]

A few feet beyond the place where this door formerly stood, there projects northward from the main building, and rises several feet above it, a square abutment, the stonework of which does not correspond in courses or in character with the rest of the building, nor is it bonded at the angles; the plinth here is very low, only a little above the ground-level, and it ceases at the point of contact with the body of the building; the entire face of the walls is unrelieved by a single string-course; and only broken by a few narrow openings, or slits, to admit light into the winding stairs, and at the very top a small plain window on the north, and another on the west face. These leading features carry back the mind to at least the close of the twelfth century, and tell us that that abutment had already stood there some 200, perhaps 250 years, when Chicheley raised his grander and more elaborate edifice by its side, forming maybe a part

p. 252. Morice, Fox, and Strype all use the word "bridge" in describing this scene; but the Rochester House Stairs at Stangate (see *supra*, p. 30) are clearly meant; for, according to old maps of London, the term was constantly so used—a "landing-stairs," or "quay," being called "a bridge"—and no actual bridge spanned the Thames at this part till a much later period.

[1] Mentioned on a subsequent page.

of Hubert Walter's original building. Within, the same tale is told. This square projection is occupied by a spiral staircase—not of stone, like that in Morton's Gateway, with the newel, or central column, formed out of the rounded end of each successive step—but all of wood; while a massive oaken spar rising in two lengths, above forty feet, forms the upright support of some sixty wooden steps. These steps, too, now of deal—a very recent restoration—were formerly of massive oak; as the under-boarding of the stairs testifies, remaining in its pristine simplicity and original material, rough outside planks of oak, with portions of the dried bark still visible upon them: no sign of the plane is here; but the woodman's auger-holes may be seen, where bolts were driven in to serve as steps for scaling the tree preparatory to its being felled. And, where the wooden stairs cease, a narrow doorway leads to a small stone newel-stair rising up a few steps in a *tourelle* of a quaint and picturesque character,[1] built on and projecting beyond the solid wall.

A small room forms the top storey of this turret, and to it the two small windows belong. Here massive double doors, containing the rudest of early locks, and clumsy fastenings of hasp and chain—the lintel and door-post riveted, not with iron, but with wooden bolts — the oaken planks

[1] Dolman, in his 'Analysis of Medieval Domestic Architecture,' has deemed this little *tourelle* worthy of special notice. An engraving is inserted at the end of this chapter.

which case the walls bearing the tooth-marks of a most primitive saw, and shaped and levelled by the antiquated adze — all concur in proving that this tower, and its staircase too, must have belonged to a building long anterior to the days of Chicheley; but it is now, of course, impossible to say whether it is a portion of the original building which Hubert Walter raised, or that which Langton added, and which must have fallen into such utter ruin in the time of Boniface, that he was required "either to repair it or build it anew;" or whether it is a part of his new building, which in its turn had suffered no little damage at the hands of the infuriated rabble who, in 1381, followed Wat Tyler, and after murdering Sudbury perpetrated ravages at Lambeth.[1] Thus much, at least, may be safely assumed, that this staircase turret, so massive and strong, was standing in Chicheley's time, and was preserved and utilised by him when he took down and cleared away the older stone building to make room for his new structure;[2] and it may be questioned if this old turret is not the most ancient part of the Palace, and entitled to carry off the honours of age even from the Chapel Crypt itself.

[1] Stowe's Annals (ed. 1631), p. 285. A MS., being a 'Continuation of Higden's Chronicle' by an otherwise unknown Monk of Worcester named John Malverne, in the Library of Bene't College, Cambridge (to which it was bequeathed by Archbishop Parker), contains a full account of this scene--"Ad manerium suum de Lambeth descendentes, libros, vestes, mappas, et plura alia inibi relicta igne combusserunt," &c.

[2] "To make room for which (the Great Tower) there was an old stone building in the same place taken down and cleared."—Ducarel's Lambeth Palace, p. 14.

The stairs we have been describing descended originally to the basement, in which lay the kitchen and other domestic offices; but they now cease at what is really the first storey. Here a large single room, nearly square, occupies the entire area of the Tower. From the extreme breadth of span, the main cross-beam threatened in the course of time to give way, and was shored up by a central spar, which has given to this apartment the name of the "Post-room."[1] At the intersections of the panelled ceiling are carvings of no contemptible workmanship, consisting chiefly of angels holding shields, or scrolls, or books; one of these carvings represents a face having a rather striking resemblance to the familiar one of Henry VIII., which has led some to assign to this ceiling the date of that monarch's reign, while all else would proclaim it about 100 years older.

Access to this Post-room was originally gained by a flight of steps from the courtyard, through a handsome doorway; the doorway still remains, although the stone steps and the porch, which projected on the southern side, were removed when the smaller Tower was added on that side.

This spacious chamber was doubtless used by the Archbishop as a State apartment; while the rooms above, occupying the three upper storeys of this Tower, still retain, in spite of numerous panelled partitions, the air of very comfortable sitting

[1] Of which a full account will be found at p. 206.

and sleeping chambers of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.[1]

The third and lowest portion of this group has yet to be noticed. For 200 years the old spiral staircase had sufficed to give access to the upper chambers of the Water Tower. They had doubtless been rude times, and the habits of domestic life correspondingly rude and simple. But, with the progress of the seventeenth century, civilisation, and refinement, and ideas of domestic comfort had advanced; the rooms in Morton's Gateway Tower were remote and detached; those in Cranmer's Tower were all too small; the more spacious and inviting chambers of the Water Tower were only accessible by that narrow winding turret-stair; and so Archbishop Laud erected on the south face of Chicheley's edifice a smaller building, utterly devoid indeed of external beauty, but with a more spacious staircase, by which (through the window-openings in the south face turned into doorways) the chambers in the Water Tower were reached with more comfort. So large a portion of this new building is occupied by the staircase, which bears

[1] During the greater part of the present century these rooms have been occupied by the domestic Chaplains of the successive Archbishops, and many a tale doubtless could they tell of the labours of "pale students by the midnight oil." Here, for instance, Drs D'Oyly and Mant, as Chaplains of Archbishop Manners Sutton, compiled their well-known and valuable 'Commentary on the Bible.' These rooms were, until his lamented death, used by the late Bishop Selwyn, during his residence in London, in the capacity of Honorary Curator of the Palace Library; an office now held by Dr Durnford, Bishop of Chichester, and Canon Jenkins, Rector of Lyminge, Kent.

undoubted marks of being work of the Laudian period, and so little extra accommodation gained in the new part, that its origin and *raison d'être* can only be thus accounted for.

To return to the Post-room. This room furnishes an instance of the tendency of the imagination, especially when stimulated by superstition, to run riot, and raise a superstructure of fiction on the smallest conceivable basis of fact. The current belief,—which, as we shall presently show, is utterly without foundation,—connects this Tower with the persecuted Lollards, and in support of this theory it seizes on this central Post as material evidence that the atrocity of whipping heretics was habitually perpetrated here. It is almost ludicrous to notice how persistently writers, one after another, have passed on this tradition as a part of the accepted history of this grand old Tower. Indeed, a recent author has gone so far as to say, "It is on record that the builder of the Tower—Chicheley—found during his time the impossibility of punishing all heretics with death; therefore whipping and other severe and degrading punishments were consequently resorted to. No doubt the Post-room was expressly set apart for this purpose."[1] Now, instead of anything of the sort being "on record," or of there being a particle of evidence to support such a theory, all record and other evidence contradicts it; and instead

[1] Tanswell's History and Antiquities of Lambeth, p. 66 n.

of this central spar being a "Whipping Post," and proclaiming the application of what is called Chicheley's "Whipping Act"[1] within his own Palace, it is nothing more than a stay, as already mentioned, for a failing beam of unusual span; and was probably introduced in the beginning of the last century; for it represents the low standard of art in the days of Queen Anne or the first George, rather than the refined decorative taste of Chicheley, which is visible in every part of this building. So also a large opening in the floor of one of the upper rooms of this Tower is assumed by local tradition to have been an *oubliette* for the secret disposal of the bodies of condemned or murdered Lollards; whereas it was clearly designed for a far more ordinary sanitary purpose, that of a *garde-robe*.

Is it an unpardonable offence to sacrifice a fondly treasured local tradition at the altar of truth, and to endeavour to vindicate the wronged nobility of Chicheley's character?

To do this fully we must return to the earliest of the three Towers, and to that small chamber of evil repute[2] which occupies its upper storey. Here are undoubtedly massive iron rings in the walls, and heavily barred casements; names, too, —emblems, — prayers, — carved in Old English

[1] An Act which really proclaims the clemency of this Primate, who thus succeeded in saving many lives at the expense of a flogging.

[2] Page 202.

character on the solid oak plankings; these have given the unenviable notoriety, and no doubt suggested the name, which associates it with Lollard persecutions; a name which has tended to cast a prison gloom over the character of the goodly pile, and has led passers-by to regard with a shudder the whole of that grey Tower, and visitors to half shrink back as they approached that secluded doorway, as if, like the Traitor's Gate in the Tower of London, it had been the entrance by which so many unhappy victims had passed to their prison and their doom.

Now, in our nineteenth century civilisation, the very existence of dungeons and prison-cells in Bishops' dwellings may seem to be a monstrous anomaly, a revolting combination of the pastor's *crosier* with the lictor's *fasces*. Yet it may be asked, is it more incongruous than the existence of a "Guard-chamber" and the presence of "men-at-arms" within the precincts of an Episcopal Palace? We should carry back our minds to the time when the one was admitted to be necessary, and we shall then more easily understand how the other came to be introduced.

In the thirteenth and following centuries, certain special privileges of jurisdiction, and of exemption, were claimed for the clergy. The concession of these, and of still greater privileges, were first secured by that imperious prelate Boniface. On this very point really turned the great contest

between Thomas à Becket and Henry II.; while Magna Charta confirmed to the clergy the right to be tried only in Ecclesiastical courts, and not in those of the Crown. Hence arose the necessity that in the several dioceses there should be places for the confinement of immoral or refractory clerks; and thus it came that prisons were introduced into Bishops' palaces; nay, paradoxical as it may seem, they really represented a spirit of leniency rather than of severity. They were not only a legalised means for enforcing Ecclesiastical discipline, but, as Dr Hook puts it, they "were intended to enable men to escape the severer penalties of the law. If a heretic were left in the hands of the Ecclesiastical authorities, his life was spared;"[1] for they had not the power of taking it. It was only when he was handed over to the secular power that he could be burnt.

To such an extent was this opinion of them current, that Walsingham tells us that when the Mayor and populace of London made a demonstration against the Bishops in 1382, during Courtney's Primacy, they cleared the Ecclesiastical prisons of the unfortunates who were confined there, and treated them with outrage and indignity, on the ground that the priests used too much indulgence towards them![2]

That such prisons existed in Lambeth before the

[1] Hook's Lives of the Archbishops, vol. v. pp. 84, 123.
[2] Walsingham's Hist. Anglic. (ed. Riley, 1864), vol. ii. p. 65.

days of Chicheley and the Water Tower, is clear; for it is recorded in Arundel's Register that he summoned before him a married chaplain "*de carceribus infra manerium suum apud Lambehith.*"[1] Nor can the necessity of such places for punishment be questioned when we read a statement of Archbishop Bourchier, some years later, as to the character, not heretical so much as immoral, of the clergy of his time. He describes them as wholly destitute both of literature and of capacity, as profligate as they were ignorant, neglecting their cures, spending their time strolling about the country in the company of loose characters, and their incomes in feasting, drinking, and other excesses.[2] This is a testimony, be it remembered, all the more weighty that it is not the envenomed utterance of a Lollard, or the charge of an infuriated adversary, but the sober, sad admission of the chief ruler of the English Church of that time.

With the bitter theological rancour which marked the fifteenth century—to be revived, for a few years, in the course of the sixteenth and seventeenth—it is perhaps little to be wondered at if such Episcopal

[1] Against whom it was proved that he travelled the country under the pretence of being a Chaplain to the Archbishop, and a licensed preacher, yet had a concubine in his company.—Arundel's Register, vol. i. f. 54 a.

[2] In a Commission, dated 1455, addressed to his Commissary-General, David Blodwell, he says: "Nostrum nuper pervenit ad auditum quod sunt nonnulli etiam rectores et vicarii seculares, . . . qui tanquam vagi ac dissoluti per regnum, . . . comessationibus, potationibus, ac ebrietatibus, nefariisque adulteriis ac fornicationibus inserviunt," &c. &c.—Bourchier's Register, f. 6; Wilkins's Concilia, vol. iii. p. 573.

prisons and cells did sometimes become places of tyranny and torture. But it may, we think, be safely asserted that Lambeth did not include Lollards among the number of its prisoners; and that the name of the "Lollards' Tower" cannot, with any justice, be applied to this building. Even Ducarel, when speaking of it under that name, betrays a doubt as to its having ever been so occupied; his cautious words are,—"Some of the Lollards might have been confined in this Tower, which still retains the Lollards' name, and has all the appearance of a prison."[1] But no less an authority than Dr Maitland, who was for many years the Librarian here, writing in 1846, has expressly recorded his opinion that the name of the "Lollards' Tower" "has been only in recent times, and quite improperly, applied to one of the Towers of Lambeth Palace."[2] Dr Hook, too, basing his opinion not only on Maitland's statement but on personal research, says: "It was not erected for the special purpose of being a prison for Lollards, nor were the Lollards, if committed to it, the only inmates."[3]

A careful examination of records induces the present writer to go still further than Dr Hook's qualified doubt, and to say that there is an utter absence of proof, not only that Chicheley had such

[1] Ducarel's Lambeth Palace, p. 46.

[2] Essays on the Reformation in England, by Dr S. R. Maitland, p. 24 n.

[3] Hook's Lives of the Archbishops, vol. v. pp. 122, 123.

object in view in erecting this building—an object so wholly at variance with and contrary to the general tenor of his life—but that any Lollard, as such, was ever among its inmates.

One single fact, which is not generally known or noticed, should clear Chicheley's fair name of the obloquy commonly but ignorantly cast upon it: that one small room, which alone contains any marks of having been used as a prison, is not in Chicheley's Water Tower at all, but is really the upper room of that staircase turret which belonged to the Tower that existed before Chicheley's time; the greater portion of which he removed to make room for his nobler building.

It will surprise many who have accepted without hesitation, and regarded as one of the most precious verities of Lambeth tradition, the identification of the Water Tower with the misguided and unhappy Lollards, to have this tradition emphatically denied;—but we will proceed to substantiate the denial.

At the outset, a protest should be uttered against the too common but false language which confounds the followers of England's first great Reformer, Wickliffe, with the Lollards, and thus unfairly enlists an amount of sympathy for the latter in a well-deserved admiration for the former. It should be always borne in mind that there is a marked difference between the spirit of Lollardism and that of Wickliffism. The former, despite the

assertions of Mosheim and his school to the contrary, was of foreign extraction, owing its existence to the zeal of one Peter Lolhard,[1] who suffered at Cologne in the year 1321; the latter was essentially of home growth, intensely Anglican: the one a disaffected political agitation; the other a loyal yearning for religious reform. Again, Wickliffe was not born until two years after Peter Lolhard's death, and cannot be held responsible for opinions really existing in England before he himself penned a single line. Their respective followers, indeed, seem for many years to have run side by side in parallel lines; but they were as widely different in the spirit of their action as they were distinct in their origin: and, though on some occasions circumstances seem to have brought them so nearly together—as, for instance, when the Lollards of London followed Wickliffe into Lambeth Chapel—that contemporary writers, being chiefly Papists, not unfrequently confounded the two bodies and used the two names promiscuously, yet it were a wrong, indeed, to the memory of John Wickliffe, the loyal and true, to make him responsible for the open rebellion which so often marked the Lollard agitation. It is, then, of the Lollards as distinct from the Wickliffites that we would now speak. It was not merely to shake off the thraldom of Rome,

[1] Other derivations have been suggested; but they seem far-fetched and less natural, though they have their several supporters among most Historians.

and to overthrow the whole Roman system then prevalent in England — though such were the avowed principles on which they started—it was to undermine all authority in the realm, and to destroy all order, that they agitated; and when they suffered, it was really as rebels, though nominally as heretics, that they were consigned to the stake. They were the Communists of their day, and as such were dangerous subjects.

The Lollard period is, strictly speaking, confined to the latter half of the fourteenth and the early part of the fifteenth centuries, and the severity of their persecution was during the Archiepiscopate of Arundel. He inaugurated the reign of his *protégé* and patron, Henry IV., by the Statute for legalising the burning of heretics, A.D. 1401; but to evade the obloquy and odium of the *auto da fé*, he threw on the secular powers the execution of the sentence passed by the Church Courts.

That year saw the first victims suffer, and marks the commencement of a persecution which has cast a shadow on Arundel's name; and yet, from Palace records and current histories, even he seems to have kept Lambeth clear of the stain of blood. The great majority of the Lollard victims, like William Sautree and Thomas Bradbee, were tried before him at St Paul's, and suffered at Smithfield. A more noteworthy victim, William Thorpe, of Shrewsbury, a man distinguished for learning and ability, was arraigned before Arundel

at Saltwood Castle; and within the dungeon-depths of that stronghold were hidden all traces of his end.[1]

So, too, with regard to the most conspicuous of his victims, Sir John Oldcastle, Lord Cobham, the champion and the hero of his party; Lambeth does not appear to have been the scene of any of the episodes of that prolonged mental torture, and those personal insults, to which he was subjected. Despite the early friendship of Henry V., which long shielded the brave knight, Arundel was resolved to reach him, and in the end succeeded. Yet his tribunal was at St Paul's; his prison was the Tower of London; from thence it was he escaped, as was generally thought with the connivance of friendly authorities. For some years he eluded his pursuers; and though every plot during that age of conspiracies — now in Wales, now in Scotland, now in London itself, in fact anywhere—was laid to his charge, yet his direct complicity in any one of them was never established. He was captured in 1417: but, as the political phases of his later career removed him from the Church's tribunals, Chicheley, who had succeeded Arundel, was powerless to befriend him; and thus the brave and good old knight suffered the double sentence of the gallows and the stake, on the assumption of his being both a traitor and a heretic.

[1] Foxe's Actes and Monuments (ed. 1632), vol. i. p. 705.

Of Chicheley's personal dealing with the Lollards, history really says very little. In his remote Welsh see of St David's he was not likely to be brought into contact with them; nor does his name appear as having taken part in any of the great trials in London during his occasional attendances upon the King; and when he was raised to the Primacy, he was so little disposed to follow up the line adopted by his predecessor that he laid himself open to a rebuke for lack of zeal; so much so, that Pope Martin V.[1] frowned right pontifically upon him, charging him with cowardice, and with being sleepy and negligent. And most certainly under this head the Registers of his Primacy present a very marked contrast to those of his predecessors, notably those of Arundel. Nor are we driven to mere negative evidence in support of Chicheley's general clemency. Among the Lambeth Records is a letter written by Chicheley, apparently from London House (*in hospitio nostro Londini*), in which he calls on the Bishop of London and all the Suffragans and Archdeacons in the province of Canterbury, twice at least in every year, to subject all persons suspected of heresy to an inquiry, and only on the testimony of

[1] Raynaldi Continuatio Annalium Baronii (Lucæ, 1752), vol. ix. p. 42, &c. By a very singular typographical error, which seems to have escaped the notice of Collier, Mosheim, Milman, &c., this letter appears as addressed Henrico *Wintoniensi* instead of *Cantuariensi*—to Cardinal Beaufort instead of to Chicheley—for whom it is evidently meant, as "the Primate of the English Church," and the "successor of the most glorious martyr St Thomas of Canterbury."

not less than three reliable witnesses on the spot, sworn upon the Gospel, to proceed, and in the case of any such suspicion of heretical tendency being confirmed by admission or proof, and conviction following, the charge and the evidence to be submitted in writing to the next meeting of Convocation—the "suspect" on conviction being meanwhile handed over to the civil powers for incarceration; and should he before the next meeting have abjured his heresy, such fact to be duly certified, and the prisoner to be liberated.[1] Now in this letter, dated 1416, may be felt the pressure put upon the Archbishop by the Pope, while in its tone and provisoes may be as clearly seen the clemency of Chicheley himself; throughout, every process must be strictly legal and just, and judgment only on the highest evidence; every precaution adopted against summary punishment; and even then a *locus penitentiæ* reserved.

Again, Chicheley appears as presiding in a Convocation held in 1422, when one William Whyte, a Chaplain of Tenterden, was charged with being a notorious heretic (*notorie diffamatum de errore et hæresi ac crimine Lollardie*); and on his confessing and abjuring his false doctrines, and solemnly swearing never to preach or teach any doctrine contrary to that of the Church of Rome, he was at once set at liberty.[2]

[1] Lambeth MSS., Chicheley's Register, ii. f. 5; Wilkins's Concilia, vol. iii. p. 379.

[2] Wilkins's Concilia, vol. iii. pp. 404, 405.

The memory, then, of the chivalrous munificent Chicheley suffers a grievous wrong at the hands of those who would connect his name in relation to that Tower with the Lollard persecutions. Dean Hook says of him that, though "not a Luther, his great desire was to correct abuses in the Church." Indeed, be it remembered of him that, while his predecessor Arundel obtained the Statute which legalised the burning of heretics, Chicheley was instrumental in passing the one by which, in a great number of cases, imprisonment, flogging, and other modes of punishment were substituted for the fires of Smithfield; thus tempering with mercy what in those days was, unhappily, regarded as justice and duty. Nor must it be forgotten that the concurrent testimony of historians of that day is to the effect that, as persecution slackened, the Lollard cause flagged, and, in the words of Dean Hook, "before the close of Chicheley's episcopate, Lollardism as a faction had become politically insignificant."

From the times of Chicheley to those of Cardinal Morton little was heard of religious persecution. Cardinal Bourchier's name is indeed associated with one memorable trial which was held at Lambeth, when the learned Reginald Peacock, Bishop of Chichester, was, in 1458, arraigned before him and convicted of heresy, though not in the direction of Lollardism; by recantation he

averted the sentence of the stake, only, however, to die in prison—but not in Lambeth.[1]

Morton's energy did not lie in that direction; for the chief aim of his life seems to have been to repair the damages caused to all Church buildings and properties during the protracted Wars of the Roses. He beautified and enlarged Manor-house and Palace; and in such works is his name perpetuated, rather than in connection with acts of intolerance.

Then Warham's Archiepiscopate, following on Morton's, was not without its signs of the change which was coming over the nation. With it began the revival of literature in England, of which he was himself the Mæcenas. Burnet indeed tells us that its earlier years were marked by severe measures against the "new opinions;" that many of both sexes were summoned to Lambeth on suspicion, and, while several abjured their heretical views, submitted to the required penance, and were absolved, some remained firm, and were sentenced, and handed over to the civil power: but no record is forthcoming of their sentences having been carried out; nor do their names appear in old John Foxe's death-roll. It may be that mercy prevailed even in their cases, as it undoubtedly did towards the close of Warham's life. Hugh Latimer himself was summoned to Lambeth, and

[1] Foxe's Actes and Monuments, &c. (ed. 1632), vol. i. pp. 928-930.

excommunication was pronounced upon him for a supposed act of contumacy, and he was ordered by Archbishop Warham to "remain in safe custody in his manor of Lambeth,"[1] but he suffered neither confinement nor insult. The patron of Erasmus,[2] the friend of Dean Colet, Grocyn, Linacre,[3] and Lilly, could have been no persecutor of those new opinions of which they were the early exponents.[4]

His successor, Cranmer, from the first marked his Episcopate by still greater toleration, although the "Sacramentarian heretics," as he called them, were but in ill favour with Henry VIII.; and even prisoners, or fallen favourites, sent here by the capricious and arbitrary King, found gentle treatment. For instance, after the battle of Solway Moss, in 1542, several of the prisoners were consigned to Lambeth; notably the Earl of Cassilis, on whom the arguments and influence of Cranmer are believed to have had such an effect that, on his liberation after the death of Henry VIII., he returned to the North, and was influential in spreading the Reformed opinions throughout Scotland.[5]

[1] "Reverendissimus decrevit predictum Hugonem Latymer remanere in salvâ custodiâ in manerio suo de Lambeth."—Wilkins's Concilia, iii. 747.

[2] Erasmus was presented by him to the Rectory of Aldington, and recommended for the Divinity Professor's chair at Oxford. To the strength of that friendship, and the value of that protection, the best and the most graceful testimony will be found in the memorable dedication by Erasmus of his 'Jerome' to Warham, in which he addresses him as his "Mæcenas."

[3] The founder of the College of Physicians.

[4] Stray Studies, by J. R. Green, p. 125.

[5] Burnet's History of the Reformation, vol. ii. p. 51.

Under Edward VI. the Palace offered a safe retreat to the fugitives from Germany — Peter Martyr, Martin Bucer, Fagius, and others; and to some indeed it became a stepping-stone to advancement; for it was through Cranmer's influence that the first obtained a Professor's chair at Oxford, and the last two similar appointments at Cambridge.[1]

To Latimer the death of Henry VIII. had for a time brought freedom: but he would not resume his Episcopal functions at Worcester, preferring to live privately with Lambeth as his home, and to preach as occasion or opportunity offered, until, on the accession of Queen Mary, he was again imprisoned, not in Lambeth, but in the Tower, with Cranmer no longer his protector, but his fellow-victim.

Nor is there any historical proof that, even during the Marian reign of blood, Lambeth itself received within its prison-walls any of the many brave representatives of the revived Wickliffism of the sixteenth century, as exemplified in the supporters of the Reformed views. Of the 288 victims during its barely four years, a very large proportion belonged to the diocese of London. The fires of Smithfield, kindled by the bigoted, if conscientious, zeal of Gardiner, were freely supplied with victims by the cruel remorseless Bonner. The pages of good old John Foxe's 'Book of

[1] Gilpin's Life of Cranmer, pp. 133, 134.

Martyrs' present an appalling bede-roll; yet the vast majority of them, he says, were assigned to the Tower, Newgate, the Fleet, the King's Bench, and the Marshalsea. And nowhere is Lambeth Palace mentioned by him as having received a single prisoner.

Indeed, the contrast in the characters of the Cardinal Archbishop and the Bishop of London tends to confirm this view. For, as compared with Bonner, Pole was clearly a man of a very gentle nature, and, for a Romanist, of tolerant spirit; though many were the Kentish victims, men and women, who died at the stake in his time, their deaths may be rather charged to the persecuting spirit of Thornton, Suffragan of Dover, and Bonner's ally, Harpsfield, Archdeacon of Canterbury, than to Pole himself. Foxe thus quaintly marks the difference: "As Winchester (Gardiner) and Bonner did always thirst after the blood of the living, so Pole's lightning was for the most part kindled against the dead;[1] and he reserved this charge only to himself. I know not for what purpose, except peradventure, being loath to be so cruel as the others, he thought nevertheless to discharge his duty towards the Pope." So gentle seemed his nature, that though a nominee

[1] Some memorable instances of this *post mortem* zeal are recorded. Not to mention the case of John Wickliffe, the bodies of Martin Bucer and Paulus Fagius were certainly exhumed and burnt by his orders, and that of the wife of Peter Martyr thrown upon a dunghill; but only in enforced obedience to a special Papal mandate.—Bishop Godwin's Annals, A.D. 1556.

of Julius III. and Queen Mary, he needed urging on in his attacks even upon the unconscious dead.[1]

To return then to the Tower itself, which has of late years received so unenviable a notoriety. How is the existence of so prevalent yet false an imputation to be accounted for? A "Lollards' Tower" undoubtedly existed; a place was known by that name as one of very evil repute.[2] Good Hugh Latimer had said that "he had rather be in purgatory than lie in Lollards' Tower." Another noble victim of that persecution, John Philpot, when, at the close of one of his examinations, he was remanded, and ordered to "lie meanwhile in Lollards' Tower," exclaimed, "If I were a dog, you could not appoint me a worse and more vile place."[3] Again, three prisoners were said to have "fallen sick in Lollards' Tower, and were removed into sundry houses in London." Clearly, then, there existed a place known by that name; but was it at Lambeth Palace? The answer may be unhesitatingly given that *it was* NOT. Foxe, in describing the imprisonment and murder of Richard Hunne in 1514, expressly says that he

[1] There is something almost ludicrous in the form which this zeal assumed in the case of one John Tooly, who "was condemned for felony, and died very obstinately, professing at the time of his death sundry heretical and erroneous opinions." By order of the Council, instigated by Gardiner and Bonner, who said it was impossible to allow so flagrant an example of perverseness to pass uncondemned, Cardinal Pole was required "solemnly to pronounce the sentence of excommunication *against the dead man*."

[2] Foxe's Actes and Monuments (3 vols. folio, 1632), *passim*.

[3] Ibid., vol. iii. p. 541.

was confined "in the Lollards' Tower at St Paul's;[1] and in the account of the examinations and death of John Philpot in 1555, introduces a letter written from his prison to his noble and true friend, Lady Vane, in which Philpot describes how he was taken "from my Lord of London's Cole-house." "I passed," he says, "through Pauls up to Lollards' Tower, and, after that, turned along the west side of Pauls, through the wall, and passing through six or seven doors, came to my lodging through many straits. It is in a Tower right on the other side of Lollards' Tower, as high almost as the battlements of Pauls."[2] Stow is even more explicit: in his description of Old St Paul's of his day (1598), he mentions two towers at the west end, and says of the one at the south corner that it "is called the Lowlarde's Tower, and hath been used as the Bishop's prison for such as were detected for opinions in religion contrary to the faith of the Church."[3] Nor does he anywhere allude to any other Tower as being known under that name. No antiquarian writer of the sixteenth or seventeenth century—not Leland, or Speed, or Spelman, or even Aubrey,—no historian of the period, speaks of any "Lollards' Tower" at Lambeth. The only one they knew was that attached to London House, and really forming a part of Old

[1] Foxe's Actes and Monuments, vol. ii. p. 24; Stow's Summary of Chronicles (ed. 1590), p. 471.

[2] Ibid., (ed. 1632), vol. iii. p. 603.

[3] Stow's Survey of London (ed. 1603), p. 372; (ed. 1633), p. 410.

St Paul's. In a list of the apartments in the Palace, preserved among the State Papers in the Public Record Office, bearing date 1635, the name nowhere occurs. Nor in the days of the Commonwealth, when, as will be seen, Lambeth Palace was converted into a prison, was this building ever spoken of as the "Lollards' Tower:" but by its old time-honoured name of the "Water Tower."

Whence, then, could this tradition, this false impression, have arisen? Probably the confounding of the two localities arose thus. Like the recoil of the over-bent bow, religious feeling, after the strain it had undergone during the later years of James II.'s reign, sprang back with redoubled force. The reaction from the dread of revived Romish persecution, so mercifully averted by his abdication, threw the nation into ecstasies of Protestant freedom, and all reasoning was overpowered by the frenzy of exultation. Every memento of Papal tyranny and oppression was revelled over with morbid delight. The Great Fire had lately swept away all trace of London House, of Bonner's Inquisition Hall and dungeons, with Old St Paul's; but the traditions of a "Lollards' Tower" remained; and what was more likely, in such a state of excited theological feeling, than that, "the wish father to the thought," a welcome invention should have been at once accepted as having the impress of unquestioned tradition?

Attached to Chicheley's Tower was one room which had been undoubtedly built for a prison, and it needed but a slight effort of the popular imagination, risen to fever heat, to transfer to Lambeth, without thought or scruple, all the obloquy of the Lollards' Tower at London House.

Singularly enough, too, the earliest allusions to the tradition would seem to point to Lambeth itself as the place from whence it emanated. In a small volume,[1] dated 1716, of comparatively personal and ephemeral character, containing a correspondence between the executors of Archbishop Tenison and his successor, Dr Wake, regarding dilapidations, allusion is made to "the prison for hereticks;" then a few years later, in 1750, in a plan of the Palace prepared by a Lambeth surveyor, the old abutment is described as "the stairs to Lollards' Tower." Still Maitland, the indefatigable antiquaries Manning and Bray, and the accurate Lysons, at the close of the century use very guarded language, the one speaking of it as being "usually called," the other as "now called the Lollards' Tower," as if it were a modern name, and they were on their guard against committing themselves to endorse the current tradition.[2]

But Pennant had already accepted it in all its

[1] The True Copies of some Letters occasioned by the Demand for Dilapidations in the Archiepiscopal See of Canterbury. By Archdeacon E. Tenison: 1716.

[2] Maitland's History of London (1739), p. 791; Lysons' Environs of London (1798), vol. i. p. 267; Manning and Bray's History and Topography of the County of Surrey (1804), vol. iii. p. 473.

harrowing circumstantiality, and propagated it without a word of qualification or a shadow of doubt. Speaking of "the munificent Chicheley," he says: "I lament to find so worthy a man to have been the founder of a building so reproachful to his memory as the Lollards' Tower. Neither Protestant nor Catholic should omit visiting this Tower, the cruel prison of the unhappy followers of Wickliffe."[1] And from Pennant it has found its way into most accounts of Lambeth Palace which have been subsequently published, whether in the substantial form of a "History" or in an ephemeral paper in a periodical. Allen certainly refers to it somewhat more hesitatingly. "The Lollards' Tower," he says, "is thought to have derived its name from a little prison at the top of it, used anciently for confining the religious sect called Lollards." "Some of the Lollards were undoubtedly confined in this Tower, which retains the Lollards' name, for the circumstance is generally noticed in history, though the persons are not particularly mentioned."[2]

But in the interval another Antiquarian had appeared, Brayley, who, speaking of Chicheley's buildings, says, "the chief of these was the erection of what has been called the Lollards' Tower"[3] —an expression which is very significant, and may

[1] Pennant's London (1790), p. 20.
[2] Allen's History of Lambeth (1827), pp. 214, 216.
[3] History of Surrey (1850), vol. iii. p. 297.

be accounted for by his having become aware of Dr Maitland's weighty statement, then recently published,[1] to discredit the current tradition.

Yet this modern tradition was taking root in the public mind. Tanswell, who wrote thirty years after, with his too frequent inaccuracy, adopts it at second-hand, and embellishes it with additional horrors.[2]

Thus, at what may perhaps to some seem to be undue length, have been given the reasons, negative and positive, for disbelieving this imputation upon Archbishop Chicheley's character, and an explanation of the probable process by which a spurious tradition had obtained currency.

History, however, invests Lambeth Palace with many touching associations of far brighter character, under Pole's successor, Matthew Parker, the large-hearted and the tolerant. The dwelling apartments, and not the prison cells, of Lambeth Palace received under him, in the form of honourable captivity — if captivity it could be called — more than one of the prelates who remained so far true to their Romish convictions as to refuse the oath of supremacy to the Reformer Queen. Here lived, not only Dr Boxall, the favourite physician of Queen Mary, but also Thomas Thirleby, the first and only Bishop of Westminster (from thence

[1] In the British Magazine for 1846, and subsequently reprinted in his Essays on the Reformation.—See *supra*, p. 211.

[2] Tanswell's History of Lambeth (1858), p. 67.

promoted by Edward VI. to Norwich, and on his recantation of his Reforming views, to Ely by Queen Mary), of whom Bishop Godwin says that he enjoyed "more pleasure in this time of his imprisonment than ever heretofore, in the midst and fullest stream of his highest honours."[1]

Here, too, for above ten years, lived Cuthbert Tunstall, the deposed Bishop of Durham, to whom Sir Thomas More has testified that he "was surpassed by no man in erudition, virtue, and amiability."

These men, and probably others also of less note, were honoured guests of Archbishop Parker, enjoying during the later years of their lives the retirement and security of Lambeth Palace; here they ended their days in peace, and were buried in the adjoining Parish Church. Here, too, according to Dugdale, several nobles of the land, not objects of the Queen's toleration and pity, but the victims of her caprice, her wounded vanity, or her suspicions, found temporary lodgment.

Among them was one who proved an unworthy scion of the House of Howard, Lord Henry, the younger son of the accomplished and brave but ill-fated Earl of Surrey. In his University (Cambridge), Bishop Godwin says he was esteemed "the learnedest among the nobility and the most able among the learned." His claims of ancestry and his natural gifts soon raised him to the favourable notice of Elizabeth; but intrigue and duplicity

[1] Strype's Life of Parker (ed. 1711), p. 140.

seemed to constitute the very breath of his life, fawning alike and at the same time on the two great rivals Essex and Burleigh. He was implicated with his brother, the Duke of Norfolk, in the conspiracy in favour of Mary Queen of Scots in 1572; and when the Duke was sent to the Tower and beheaded, Lord Henry received the milder sentence of "Lambeth Palace, under the custody of Archbishop Parker." Here he worked on the gentle nature of the good Primate, by whose intercession with Burleigh he obtained his release. But ill did he requite the intervention of the Archbishop and the clemency of the Queen; for no sooner was he liberated than he was again deep in intrigues; and though he succeeded in currying favour with James, who created him Earl of Northampton, he—the son of so noble a father—earned for himself the just reproach of being "a despicable and wicked wretch."[1]

By a singular coincidence Essex too very soon after found brief shelter here on his way to the Tower, and the block. It was not enough for him that he was first and most privileged of Elizabeth's favourites, that he was Earl Marshal of England and Governor of Ireland: was not Elizabeth advanced in years, and James of Scotland, the expectant successor to the English throne, most

[1] Strype's Life of Parker (1821), vol. ii. p. 104; Parker's Antiquities, p. 345; Collins's Peerage of England (Brydge's ed., 1812), vol. i. pp. 101, 102.

unpopular ; while he himself was no remote heir to the Crown,[1] and withal the most popular noble of his time ? Why should not he aspire to the throne on Elizabeth's death ? Why not establish his right in anticipation of that event ? Such was the ground of Essex's heartless, ungrateful rebellion. But Burleigh, and others like him, were too loyal and too powerful, while the citizens of London were too lukewarm or too timid. The misguided Earl, disappointed at St Paul's, repulsed at Ludgate Hill, driven back to Essex House, was taken prisoner, and, the night being too stormy for passing down the river, he was brought to Lambeth as a brief resting-place, before being conveyed to the Tower. On the stairs at Lambeth did the aged Primate Whitgift receive the man who had often entered there in the royal retinue,—his Queen's favourite, his country's idol,—with words in which reproof was blended with pity, "My Lord Earl, I am concerned to see that time when you are brought here thus."[1] Nor was Essex the only prisoner; the young Earl of Southampton, who in excess of affection had weakly cast in his lot with this powerful rebel, was here also ; and they both, as the storm abated, were conveyed down to their dungeons in the Tower, from which the one soon

[1] He was a direct descendant of Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester, who was the youngest son of Edward III.

[2] Carew MSS. in Lambeth Palace, No. 604, f. 5 ; Dugdale's Baronage, vol. ii. p. 181 ; Birch's Memoirs of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, vol. ii. p. 468.

passed forth to the block, while the other, after lingering out the remainder of Elizabeth's life as a State prisoner, was restored by James to his liberty and his rank.

Charles I., too, on one occasion appears to have made use of Lambeth Palace for a similar purpose, under circumstances that may provoke a smile. Lady Elizabeth Stuart, the eldest daughter of Esme, the late Duke of Lennox, had been designed by the King, whose kinswoman and ward she was, for the young Marquis of Lorne, with the politic desire of thus uniting the two powerful Scot families of Lennox and Argyll. But she, it appears, preferred an English husband in the person of Lord Maltravers, eldest son of the Earl of Arundel;[1] and by the aid of her own mother and his, they were clandestinely married in 1626. As a punishment for this defiance of his authority and opposition of his wishes, the King "committed the wedded pair to the custody of Archbishop Abbot at Lambeth Palace," while Maltravers's parents were for a time sent to the Tower.[2]

Yet as has been said, these Lambeth prisons had other and far more unhappy inmates. While there is no record of Lollards ever having been of the

[1] The ducal title of Norfolk being in abeyance under attainder.—Walker's (Sir E.) Discourses (1709), p. 213.

[2] Rushworth's Historical Collections, vol. i. p. 363; Douglas's Peerage of Scotland (Wood's ed.), vol. i. p. 100; Collins's Peerage of England, vol. i. p. 117.

number, there is evidence which cannot be doubted that the middle of the seventeenth century saw these walls crowded with victims—not the Lollard victims of Papal persecution and tyranny, but men whose loyalty to Church and Crown drew down upon their heads the remorseless vengeance of a revived Lollardism of an exaggerated type.

Here is unfolded the saddest page in the history of Lambeth Palace. The strife between Parliamentarian and Royalist, between Puritan and Cavalier, which has left its traces wide-cast over the land, has given a melancholy notoriety to the noble Chicheley's Water Tower, in connection with the unfortunate Laud and the friends of the Monarchy. Men had been taught to believe that in Laud they saw the very impersonation of Star Chamber tyranny: all the cruelty of its sentences was laid at his door; all the obloquy of its brutality was heaped on his head, until it came to be proclaimed that no retribution was too severe for such a monster.[1] Yet how unjustly!—cruelty and brutality had marked the judgments of that obnoxious Court long before Laud had a seat there; while cropped ears and the pillory, horrible to contemplate, only represented—and surely in less savage form—the so-called religious zeal of the times, as the fires of Smithfield and the gallows at Tyburn had represented that of the preceding century. And if truth were told, though there may have been

[1] Prynne's Canterburie's Doome, *passim*.

occasional instances in which a conviction and a severe sentence may have given some gratification to Laud's personal feelings, there were far more cases in which his pleading tempered with mercy the harshness of his colleagues. Yet on Laud and on Lambeth House was to be visited all the vengeance of the aggrieved party, with Prynne and his associates at their head, in the day of their triumph and revenge.

The sequence of events is sadly suggestive. It was not until the beginning of January 164$\frac{2}{3}$, that the formal order went forth from the Commons that Lambeth House, "lying empty and convenient," should be converted into a prison. Yet already, weeks before, occasional victims had found their way here.

"Be it known," says Walker,[1] "that when they had filled all the common jayls and compters about town with the principal clergy and gentry of the kingdom, they afterwards seized the venerable old houses where so many most excellent and pious Bishops had for a long course of years lived in splendour and hospitality, and ordered them to be converted into dungeons for the starving of their clergy and many of their gentry."

On the Report made to the Commons on the 2d of January 164$\frac{2}{3}$, that "there was about sixty commanders coming up to Parliament from Chichester, it was ordered that they should be carried

[1] Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, p. 56.

to Lambeth House and other prisons appointed," among them London House and Ely House; and "to relieve the State of the expense, it was further ordered that malignants and delinquents that were sent there should bear their own charges."[1]

Thus in their fierce impatience the Parliamentarian faction could not wait even for the first legal step which should give them possession. So early as the 23d of the preceding September, a prisoner of some mark, Colonel Henry Brooke[2] of Cheshire, had been consigned to Lambeth Palace; Dr Wilson,[3] Archdeacon of Exeter, too, in the following month; even troops were quartered here early in November, although the Lords repudiated their own order, by which Captain Brown and his company had taken possession;[4] and with the New Year the tide set in in full force, until the cry came that "Lambeth House was already full and overcrowded."

Meanwhile a head-jailer had been appointed; and in his selection the intense malevolence of the triumphant faction proclaimed itself. Dr Alexander Leighton was a man especially obnoxious to Laud; one whom he, in 1629, then Bishop of London, had, with his colleagues in the Star Chamber, condemned for a work entitled 'Zion's

[1] Orders of the House of Lords, December 2, 1642; Mercurius Britannicus, and Perfect Diurnal of Passages, &c., of the same date.

[2] Mercurius Politicus, September 24, 1642.

[3] Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, p. 57.

[4] Laud's Diary, p. 64.

Plea against the Prelacy,' in which book Leighton "counselled the killing of all the Bishops, and called the Queen a Canaanite and idolatress:"[1] on him the cruel sentence of cropped ears and the pillory had been passed and executed; yet he it was whom the Parliament exultantly liberated and at once installed in charge of the Lambeth prisoners.[2]

This appointment was verily a Nemesis for the unhappy Archbishop; and to make the irony of fate all the more bitter, it was made on the very day of Laud's appearance before the Council. How long he held the office, to the sorrow of his prisoners, is uncertain. It is said that he died out of his mind in 1644;[3] but there must be some error in this date, as, according to Sir R. Twysden's Diary, he was certainly alive in the following year, and probably died in 1646.

Of his administration and treatment of his prisoners, that Diary furnishes a melancholy picture. Twysden paints him as a man of unscrupulous extortion in the charges he levied for the use of "the bare walls, three payr of stairs high in the Water Tower;" and says he was "a Scot, who writes hymself Dr of Physic, sometyme heereto-

[1] Whitelock's Memorials, &c., p. 15.

[2] The History of Laud's Trials and Troubles, p. 198: "Upon the 23d December 1642, Dr Layton (*sic*) came with a warrant from the Honourable House of Commons for the keys of my house at Lambeth to be delivered to him, that prisoners might be brought thither. I referred myself to God."

[3] Chalmers's Biographical Dictionary.

fore a Divine, no ill-dispositioned person, but one who loved the Presbytery and loved money."[1]

A contemporary, who had ample cause to congratulate himself on not having been one of his unfortunate victims, thus describes the *régime* adopted by Leighton: "He did to some purpose make reprisal for his damages, and persecuted their purses with as much rigour and severity as his masters did their persons, making that persecution, which was so great a crime in others, a lawful and gainful calling in himself."[2]

Sir Roger Twysden's crime doubtless (for none was ever formally charged against him) was that he was a large landowner in Kent of knightly family, and had been high in favour with the King. He had for fellow-prisoners a Berkshire Knight, Sir Edward Yates, who like himself had been among the first to be raised to the newly constituted rank of Baronet as a mark of royal favour; with them a worthy Alderman of London named Abell, and Daniel Harvey, a merchant of great influence in the city, whose chief crime probably was that he was a man "of the greatest reputation, and always very welcome to the Archbishop."[3] "Having remaynd there two years lacking two days," Twysden at length obtained

[1] Archæologia Cantiana, vol. iii. pp. 155-169, and vol. iv. pp. 137-147 and 177, in which large portions of Sir R. Twysden's most interesting Diary are published.

[2] Nalson's Affairs of State, &c., vol. i. p. 512.

[3] Life of Lord Clarendon, written by himself, A.D. 1635.

his release, solely through the unceasing efforts of his devoted wife, who visited him daily, excepting during the period of a confinement; and eventually having secured his liberation, herself fell a prey to a disease brought on by her fatigues and anxieties.

Nor was Sir Roger Twysden the only Lambeth prisoner who was indebted to the devotion of his wife for freedom. Another of his fellow-sufferers found a similar deliverer — Dr Guy Carleton, whom the "Triers" had ejected from his living of Bucklebury, in Berkshire, and treated with great severity in the Lambeth prison. There is something almost romantic in the circumstances of his escape. His wife conveyed to him a rope, and arranged that a boat should be ready alongside the Water Tower to convey him away; but the rope proved too short. Having descended to its utmost length, he let go, hoping that he might be within easy reach of the ground, but the distance was considerable; a fracture and a dislocation of his legs resulted from the fall. With great effort he dragged himself to the boat's side, and was conveyed away to a place of concealment, his poor wife being compelled to sell her very clothing, and to undertake manual labour, in order to provide for his bodily needs. Eventually he escaped to France, and returned at the Restoration, when his loyalty was soon rewarded by the Bishopric of Bristol, and subsequently that of Chichester.

The escape of these prisoners with their lives from this charnel-house was the more remarkable, for during their imprisonment—that of the two former at least—there had been an appalling mortality among their fellow-prisoners, caused by reckless overcrowding. Walker says that upwards of one hundred dispossessed Clergy from the West of England were incarcerated here; to these were added a large number of Royalist prisoners[1] who had been taken by the Parliamentarian troops near Southampton and Westminster.[2] Then came the disastrous defeat at Naseby in June 1645, which tended still more to crowd the prisons, and every available part of the Palace must have been converted to this purpose. The natural result was, that a very virulent and fatal fever broke out among the prisoners, and carried off its victims from all classes, high and low, cleric and layman, officer and private. It is a piteous tale the Burial Register of the Parish Church of Lambeth tells of the mortality which prevailed during the months of July and August of that year; against each such entry is placed the sad record, "a prisoner in Cant. House."[3] It shows that of

[1] The order applying to Lambeth given at full length in the Journals of House of Lords, under date January 1642-43.

[2] A list of these may be found in the Journals of House of Lords.

[3] It appears to have been very common at that time to call Lambeth House "Canterbury House." Whether the abbreviation above given was one of the many signs of Puritan and Parliamentarian contempt for everything connected with Episcopacy in general, and Archbishop Laud in particular, or only arose from the urgent haste of John White, the newly intruded Presbyterian Rector of Lambeth, it is impossible to say.

the entire number of burials recorded here during those two months for the whole parish—*i.e.*, thirty-eight—thirteen, or above one-third, were victims from the Palace; and no doubt very many more died there, and were removed elewhere for burial; for Bishop Kennet says, "Near an hundred ministers were brought out of the west and clapp'd up in Lambeth House, where almost all of them were destroyed by a pestilential fever."[1]

The entries in the Burial Register are as follows:

1645.	July	the 3.	Ralph Peereson, a prisoner in Cant. House.
,,	,,	the 11.	Thomas Parmenter, do.
,,	,,	the 16.	John Langley, &c. do.
,,	,,	the 22.	John Gardiner, &c. do.
,,	August	the 2.	William Marquese, &c. do.
,,	,,	the 7.	ffredericke Lewes, &c. do.
,,	,,	the 9.	Nicholas Patryole (?), &c. do.
,,	,,	the 12.	Nathaniel Gidmys, &c. do.
,,	,,	the 13.	Sir George Bunkley, &c.[2] do.
,,	,,	the 15.	Lieftenant Ward, &c. do.
,,	,,	the 15.	Richard Swarbrake, &c. do.
,,	,,	the 20.	David Lewes, &c. do.
,,	,,	the 23.	Thomas Paulet, gent., &c. do.
,,	September	the 3.	Thomas Lewes, gent., &c. do.
,,	,,	the 15.	Nicholas Smith, &c. do.
,,	October	the 21.	Evan Griffins, &c. do.
,,	December	the fourth.	Mr Thomas West, &c. do.

[1] Bp. Kennet's Register and Chronicle, p. 842.

[2] Sir George Bunkley was a Royalist of high repute; his gallantry, exhibited in the relief of Basing, had obtained for him the honourable post of Deputy-Governor of Oxford: "he died in prison of hard usage at Lambeth."—Lloyd's Lives, Actions, &c., &c., of Noble, Reverend, and Excellent Persons, p. 689.

It is possible that compunctions of conscience, or a sense of shame at the appalling mortality which had resulted from the overcrowding and treatment of their victims, induced the Parliament to reduce the number of the prisoners; for in 1648 a portion at least of the building was sold (for the sum of £7073) to two of their leading partisans, Colonel Thomas Scot, who was Secretary to Cromwell, and Matthew Hardy, a man of less exalted position in the Commonwealth, but not of less evil repute. These two soon quarrelling over their plunder,[1] a division was made, under which Scot took the Hall, which he demolished, reimbursing himself by selling the materials; while the Chapel fell to Hardy, who desecrated and rifled it. It would seem that the Towers were considered useful as State prisons, and thus escaped destruction; for in the same year (1648) the Royalist poet Richard Lovelace was confined here for a time, but liberated after the King's execution.[2]

Dr Richard Allestree,[3] a man of considerable eminence, was also at this time imprisoned here. He was one of the Censors and Tutors of Christ Church, Oxford; but the Parliament "Visitors" in 1648 deprived him of his offices and expelled him the University. He became an active par-

[1] Aubrey's Antiquities of Surrey (1719), vol. v. p. 273.
[2] Occurrences from Foreign Parts, August 23-30, 1659.
[3] The name is sometimes spelt Allistry.

tisan, and for some time carried on communication with the Royal Exiles. On the occasion of his return after one of his interviews with Charles II. in Paris, he was seized at Dover and consigned to Lambeth prison: here he lay for some months; but was liberated, as is supposed, by the influence of the Earl of Shaftesbury; and on the Restoration was made Chaplain in Ordinary to the King, Canon of Christ Church, and Regius Professor of Divinity.[1]

Then came a singular turn of the wheel of fortune: in April 1657 was discovered a deep-laid conspiracy, not of Royalists, but of "Fifth Monarchy" men — men whose enthusiasm Cromwell had only been too thankful to make use of a few years before: but now the leaders were seized, and some of them consigned to the Lambeth prisons.[2]

Again, two years later (in 1659), Lambeth House had its Royalist prisoners; and among these latter some even of noble birth—the Earls of Derby and Chesterfield, and Sir Thomas Armstrong:[3] each of whom demands a passing

[1] Bishop Fell's Life of Dr Allestry prefixed to his Sermons.

[2] Duke of Sutherland's MSS., 5th Report (Part I.) of Royal Commission on Historical MSS. (vol. iv. f. 14), p. 163. They are there called "the faction of Sindercome;" but Syndercombe, who had been Quartermaster to General Monk, and had undertaken to assassinate Cromwell, had been seized and sent to the Tower some months before; whereas, according to Thurloe (State Papers, 1657), this conspiracy was a very formidable plot of these religious fanatics, with Colonel Harrison at their head.

[3] Mercurius Politicus, Sept. 14 and Sept. 20, 1659.

notice. Charles, Earl of Derby, could claim for his father the brave Earl James, who had rallied to the King's side at Worcester, and was eventually captured in disguise after that defeat, and, in violation of promised quarter, was beheaded at Bolton in 1651; and for his mother, the even more heroic Countess, who so nobly defended Lathom House, and subsequently the Isle of Man, against the Parliamentarian forces, and of whom Hume says, "she had the glory of being the last person in the three kingdoms, and in all their dependent dominions, who submitted to the victorious Commonwealth." It was their son, the 8th Earl, who, having taken part in Sir George Brooke's desperate and futile efforts in Chester, was made a prisoner and consigned to Lambeth House on September 20, 1659.[1] There he found as a fellow-prisoner the young Earl of Chesterfield, who had been captured a week before. Of Sir Thomas Armstrong little is known save that he was a Devonshire baronet, and eventually suffered death for suspected complicity in the Rye-House conspiracy.

But it fared better with them than with the earlier prisoners. In those days Parliament had been supreme, and in the full fruition of power gained by severe struggle, was eager to wreak its vengeance on those who had dared to oppose it.

[1] Collins's Peerage of England, vol. iii. p. 76; Whitelock's Memorials, p. 683.

Now all was changed. With Oliver Cromwell dead, poor Richard anxious to escape from the troubles and risks of the Protectorate, the Army at unconcealed antagonism with the Parliament, there was a general feeling of unrest; a consciousness of coming change; a foreboding of impending retribution, which made men timorous and cautious: already was heard, passing from man to man, and that not always with bated breath or timid whisper, but often in open bold speech, the question, "Why speak ye not a word of bringing the King back?" Under such circumstances, these prisoners in Lambeth House and elsewhere had gentler treatment; for their jailers knew not how soon they might be called on to give up their charge, and to render account. Hence it came that theirs was but a short imprisonment, and a speedy release.[1]

Full mention has been made of the first jailer, Dr Alexander Leighton, and his antecedents. Who succeeded him in the ignoble yet profitable office is uncertain. The man who filled that post towards the close of the Commonwealth is not unknown; he, too, has a history. Edward Dendy (or Dandy) had been Sergeant-at-Arms at the trial of Charles I.[2] On him it had devolved to read the proclamation in Westminster Hall, at

[1] Colonel John Bennett, of Uxbridge, and John Risdon (who while imprisoned broke his leg), were liberated only five weeks before the Restoration.—State Papers (Domestic Series, 1660), vol. xiii. 47, 128.

[2] Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 118.

Old Exchange, and at Cheapside, and to receive from the officer of the Ordnance in the Tower "the bright axe for the execution of malefactors,"[1] when the Royal Charles was doomed; and in reward for these services he was first placed in charge of the Marshalsea: but was here accused of carelessness in letting the debtors escape.[2]

When, however, he received the more lucrative post of the Lambeth prison, he appears to have watched his own interests more carefully than he had done those of the creditors at the Marshalsea. Here, it would seem he imitated, and probably surpassed, the money-loving tendencies of his predecessor Leighton; for in a trial before Lord Chancellor Finch in 1674,[3] it was stated that Dendy had fled the country at the close of 1659, fearing to face the charges of extortion and peculation which would be brought against him, and like the proverbial rat, deserted the sinking ship of the Commonwealth. It would seem, moreover, to have been a timely escape for his life, for the name of Edward Dendy occurs in the Proclamation of June 1660, summoning "all who sate and gave judgment, or assisted in the horrid and detestable murder of His Majesty's Royal Father."[4]

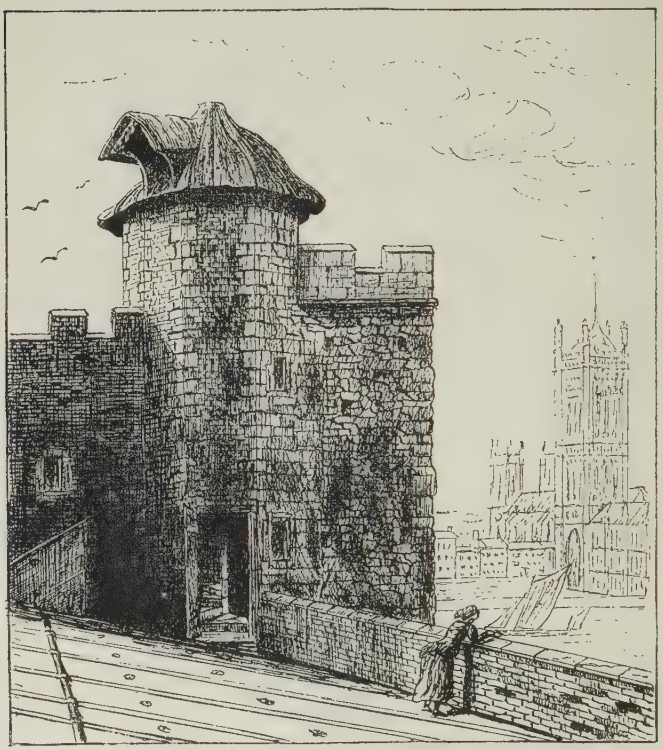
[1] England's Black Tribunal (5th edition, 1720), p. 41.

[2] State Papers (Domestic Series, 1654), vol. lxvi. 29.

[3] Notes of a Trial before Lord Chancellor Finch, "Sir John Norfolk *v.* Symball," 28th Charles II.—Additional MSS. in British Museum, 29,800, case 458.

[4] Kennett's Register (ed. 1728), vol. i. p. 176.

Mention has been made of the existence of names and sentences cut out in the oak panels in the small chamber at the top of the staircase-turret, and also on the stone walls in the small room in



Engraving of Tourelle mentioned at p. 202.

the basement of Morton's Gateway, as assumed proofs that Lollards were confined here; but the internal evidence most certainly does not favour that view any more than the testimony of records.

The character of the writing, the sentences in Latin, the monogram of the Saviour's name, IHS. in various forms, all indicate an amount of education and knowledge, as well as a line of thought, very different from that ordinarily ascribed to the Lollards; while the free flourishing style of many of the inscriptions clearly belongs to the seventeenth rather than the fifteenth century. So the names, the emblems, and the prayers which appear on the old prison walls may after all have belonged, and most probably did belong—not to Lollards—but to Royalists, who suffered here for conscience' sake.

CHAPTER IX.

The Chapel.

WHATEVER doubt there may be as to the exact date of the Great Hall or the Guard-Room, there would seem to be little difficulty in assigning at least an approximate one to the Chapel. No records, indeed, have been preserved by which it may be positively marked, as in the case of Chicheley's Water Tower or Morton's Gateway; but the western doorway and lancet-windows of the Chapel supply scarcely less reliable data for fixing the period at which this exquisite portion rose on the already existing Crypt. It was clearly a work of the middle of the thirteenth century—probably almost contemporaneous with the nave of the Temple Church, with which it so exactly corresponds in character; and that, according to Stow, was rebuilt and re-dedicated in 1240. And this date receives strong corroboration from history; for Boniface, who came to the Primacy in 1245, was two years after laid under an injunction by Pope Urban IV.

to "restore or construct anew" the buildings at Lambeth which had fallen into disrepair. In the present Chapel, then, may be seen a part at least, and probably the most important part, of that fabric which he reluctantly, and only under Papal compulsion—out of the fourth of the offerings at Becket's shrine assigned to him for that purpose — erected in atonement for his tyrannical and sacrilegious treatment of the monks of St Bartholomew the Great at Smithfield.

But while the assignment of the probable date to the present Chapel is thus easy, another question arises which is not quite so easy of solution. Was this the original Chapel erected on this spot? or had one already existed, the work of Stephen Langton, for instance, who probably did build the old Tower adjoining, which Chicheley removed to make room for his nobler work? The Crypt, which lies beneath, is unquestionably of earlier date, and was doubtless sometimes used for religious services; but even that would hardly carry us back above fifty or sixty years,—say to the close of the twelfth century; whereas the existence of an earlier Chapel, in which the Ordinations and Consecrations were held, is suggested a hundred years before Baldwin had effected the exchange; for Anselm is said to have "consecrated many Bishops at Lambeth;[1] and Eadmer tells us that he ordained the

[1] "Samuelum . . . Malcumque . . . aliosque Episcopos Lambethi consecravit."—See an anonymous Life of Anselm prefixed to 'Anselmi Opera' (Gerberon, ed. 1675).

Abbot of St Augustine's at Lambeth in 1107; and every one of his successors, with the single exception of Thomas à Becket, held consecrations "at Lambeth" before the Manor had passed from the Bishops of Rochester to the See of Canterbury. Where, then, were these consecrations held? Perhaps in the Parish Church, for one certainly stood here in the days of Edward the Confessor; though the language used by Eadmer and others in recording them, hardly supports that view.[1] And if not, what other place can be suggested?

Gundulph, Bishop of Rochester from 1077 to 1108, built a *mansio* at Lambeth, none having previously existed there, for the use of the Bishops;[2] and as a matter of course, a Chapel would be attached to this building. Now, when nearly a century later the exchange took place between Rochester and Canterbury, no mention is made of this *mansio*, nor of any building at all at Lambeth, being included in the transfer, only "the Manor of Lambeth, with its rights, dues, privileges, and belongings, . . . and the Church of the Manor,"[3] *i.e.*, the Parish Church; whereas, in the counter transfer of the Darent Manor, a *tenementum* is specified as being conveyed to the monks of Rochester. The building, then, which Gundulph had erected at Lambeth, must have been on that portion of

[1] *Supra*, p. 18, n.

[2] *Supra*, p. 15, n.

[3] "Factum est excambium de manerio de Lamhethi, . . . cum pertinentiis, . . . et ecclesia ejusdem manerii."—Chartæ Miscellaneæ (Lambeth MSS.), vol. ix., Nos. 17, 18.

the land which was retained by the See of Rochester for their London residence; and must have been of considerable importance, as it was primarily and almost exclusively for the convenience of its occupants that John de Sheppey erected the bridge or stairs at Stangate.[1] On this supposition an expression which is used by Eadmer in his account of Anselm's ordination of the Abbot of St Augustine's admits of easy and simple explanation. He says that Anselm ordained him "at Lambeth in the chapel of the Rochester Church, where he was then staying as a guest,"[2] and that this had given offence to the monks of Canterbury, who complained that it would have been more befitting the honour of their Abbot (*honestius*) that he should have been ordained in the metropolitical See than in the chapel of a Suffragan. This expression would seem to indicate that this Ordination was performed in the Bishop of Rochester's private chapel.

And all the Consecrations recorded by Jervase and others as taking place at Lambeth between Anselm's time and the middle of the thirteenth century, are mentioned as having been held *apud Lamhee*, until that of John Chishull in 1274 (when Boniface's Chapel would have been finished), when his and each subsequent one held by the Arch-

[1] *Supra*, p. 30.

[2] "Apud Lametham in capella Roffensis Ecclesiæ, ubi tunc Anselmus erat hospitatus."—Eadmeri Historia Nov. (Lutetiæ Parisiorum, 1675), lib. iv. p. 77.

bishop, is entered in the Register of the See as taking place *in capella sua*, or *in capella manerii sui apud Lamhee* or *Lamhethe.*

From the use of the two different expressions, and the change occurring almost immediately after the death of Boniface, it would seem not unreasonable to infer that up to that time, from the want of a fitting building on the Archbishop's Manor, the Chapel of "Rochester Place" was used; and that thenceforward, as was clearly the case, this Chapel became the scene of all the Lambeth Consecrations,[1] with the single exception of Henry Holbeach, who in 1538 was consecrated by Cranmer in the Chapel at Rochester House.[2]

Having thus endeavoured to trace the early history of the Chapel, to fix its date, and to bring forward all available evidence as to its earliest use, we would proceed at once to a description of it, and the changes it has undergone; but before doing so, some notice must be taken of the Crypt, or under Chapel, which lies beneath. This Crypt, with the boldly groined stone arches of its roof, was clearly of anterior date to the Chapel itself, and perhaps may claim precedence in point of age over the stair-turret of the original Tower.

This Crypt is not without its history, and its own sad memories. From it, probably—for Arch-

[1] For a complete list of all the Consecrations held at Lambeth Chapel, see Appendix A.

[2] Stubbs's Registrum Sacrum Anglicanum, p. 78.

bishop Walter's earliest Chapel had been levelled to the ground, and the new one it devolved on Boniface to build could not yet be finished—from its altar did that daring Savoyard, more soldier than prelate, in 1249, fulminate his ecclesiastical thunders on the independent Prior of St Bartholomew the Great and his Diocesan of London;[1] and when, very soon after, the Bishop of Winchester felt himself aggrieved by the Archbishop's arrogance and despotism, some of his armed bands came to vindicate their master's rights, it is expressly said that, among other damage, they broke the doors of the Chapel.[2]

But a sadder scene was enacted here 300 years after. In this Crypt,[3] on the 17th May 1536, stood the unhappy Anne Boleyn, suddenly summoned from her apartments in the Tower to appear before Cranmer "on the salvation of her soul"—so in mockery the summons ran,—the day after the packed tribunal had condemned her to death; the object of this ordeal being to extort from her, if possible, a confession of her previous betrothal to Lord Percy, as presenting a shadow of a justifica-

[1] Of this disgraceful scene a full account is given by Matthew Paris, with all the warmth, and perhaps not without the high colouring and exaggeration, of a sympathising monk. Bishop Godwin (De Præsulibus Angl., p. 93), thus describes the escape of Boniface: "Ad fluvium properans et in lintrem se conjiciens, Lamethan pervenit; ex domo jam suâ tanquam ex arce tyrannidis excommunicationis sententiam fulminat."

[2] "Ostia domorum et capellæ frangentes."—Matthew Paris (W. Wats's ed., Londini, 1640), Additamenta, p. 187.

[3] "In quodam basso sacello infra Ædes nostras apud Lamhith."—Wilkins's Concilia, vol. iii. p. 803. Ex. Excerptis Heylinianis.

tion for her murder, on which the King was resolved. Cranmer had been no less suddenly summoned from his retirement at Otford to carry out this behest of his heartless master. That gloomy Crypt,[1] lighted only by two small square windows, which may be still seen just above the ground-level outside, then capacious enough to hold the small selected body of attendant witnesses, among whom was Thomas Crumwell, the deep intriguer, was a fitting scene for such a deed of darkness—far more fitting than Chapel or Hall.

It was suggested to her that such a confession might save her the terrible death of being burned as an adulteress — might perhaps even save her life, and possibly the lives of her beloved brother and the noble gentlemen doomed on her behalf. Under such persuasion, life or death hanging in the balance, the confession—a conscious falsehood —was uttered. She thus abandoned her own rights as a wife, and her daughter's as a Queen,— but all in vain. In that Crypt was pronounced the cruel judgment that her marriage was invalid, by the man[2] who had himself been so instrumental in making her a Queen, and who admits that he

[1] Far different is the present appearance of the Crypt. From its proximity to the river and the nature of the soil, it has, no doubt, been always liable to the influx of water at high tide; gravel and other materials have been constantly thrown in to raise the floor, which has gradually risen higher and higher, until it reaches at present within a few inches of the spring of the arches; and has thus become unfitted for use, and incapable of restoration, except at very great expense.

[2] Heylin, however, says it was pronounced by Crumwell, in his capacity of Vicar-General.

regarded her with more than ordinary affection;[1] and she passed from his presence up the stone stairs into the Post-room, thence down the steps from the Water Tower, there entered her barge, and was stealthily and in silence borne along the stream to her prison, to hear, as she floated down, the death-knell of the victims she had hoped to save, and three days after herself to follow them to the block.[2]

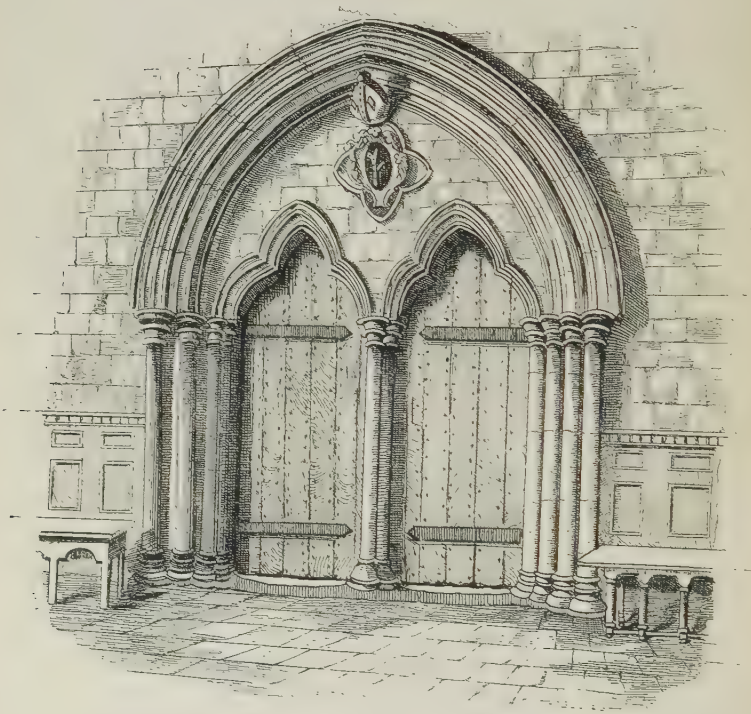
We now proceed to speak of the Chapel itself. The entrance doorway is one of striking character, and of no ordinary construction. This was, no doubt, originally the main entrance into the Chapel from a raised terrace which ran along its west end. Here a semicircular arch, with deep massive hood-mouldings, belonging to the earliest English period, embraces two cusped arches, each closed by a massive oaken door. The jambs contain a row of four columns, of which the capitals and projecting limbs, bonding the whole into the main wall of the building, are each cut *en bloc* out of a single slab of Purbeck marble; as also are their bases. Such is the construction on either jamb, while a cluster of three Purbeck shafts, similarly grouped, rising between, divides the two lesser arches.[3]

[1] "I loved her not a little for the love which I judged her to bear towards God and His gospel. I was most bound to her of all creatures living."—Letter of Cranmer to Henry VIII.; Cotton MSS. Otho, c. x. f. 225.

[2] Strickland's Queens of England, vol. ii. p. 685.

[3] For the accompanying sketch the author is indebted to his friend Cyril Harcourt, Esq., of Lambeth Palace.

The Chapel is 72 feet long by 25 feet broad, divided into four bays of triplet lancets on either side, very deeply splayed, and relieved by shafts of Purbeck marble; the most western bay being par-



titioned off by a screen to form an *atrium*, or ante-chapel. The east end is filled by a graduated row of five lancets, each with its Purbeck shafts; and a similar group of five lights originally occupied the western end over the entrance door. Here, then,

is clearly a building dating, at the latest, from the middle of the thirteenth century. It bears a striking resemblance to the windows of the Temple Church, which was built about 1245. There is an entry in Peckham's Register, under date 1280, of which the only word decipherable is *Capellæ* in the margin;[1] while an entry in Arundel's Register mentions the consecration of a new altar in the Palace Chapel in the year 1407.[2]

Accepting, then, the middle of the thirteenth century as the date of the Chapel, we pass on to notice briefly the changes that the building has undergone. When Archbishop Chicheley erected his tower nearly 100 years later, and built it against the western wall of the Chapel, he necessarily closed up the five lights at that end;[3] but he left the splays and Purbeck shafts untouched, and in the central lancet an opening to serve as a *hagioscope* for the use of the inmates of the Tower. Some three centuries later this opening was filled up, and a small bay-window substituted for the *hagioscope* by Archbishop Juxon, as his arms on the shield borne by the angel supporting the window, proclaim.

In Cardinal Morton the Chapel had its most

[1] Ducarel quotes it as referring to some repairs in the Chapel; but from the dilapidated and obliterated state of this folio (3 b), the entry must at best be a matter of conjecture.—See Ducarel's History of Lambeth Palace, p. 25, n.

[2] Arundel's Register (Lambeth MSS.), part i. f. 147 b.

[3] It is expressly mentioned in the 'Computus Ballivorum' (13 Henry VI., Lambeth MSS.) that 3000 bricks were used in closing up this window.

liberal benefactor and beautifier. He filled all the windows with stained glass, probably of the richest which the later years of the fifteenth century, so rich in that art, could produce. But when Laud came to the See he found, to use his own words, those goodly windows "shameful to look on, all diversely patched, like a poor beggar's coat."[1] He immediately entered upon the pious work of reparation; a work which indeed furnished one of the grave charges brought against him by his Puritan enemies, that he had restored the superstitious imagery from a "Romish Mass-book;" and that he had introduced a crucifix in the east window—which was nothing more than the restoration of the Crucifixion scene. In vain did he affirm that all he had attempted to do was to restore the original design. His enemies were only too eager to convict and condemn him, and wreaked their wanton unreasoning vengeance on those beautiful works of art,[2]—those memorials of a piety they could not understand,—until not a fragment remained; as Dr Ducarel observes, "under the pretence of abhorring idols, they made no scruple of committing sacrilege."[3]

A tale of no little interest arises out of the real

[1] Troubles and Tryal of Archbishop Laud, p. 311.

[2] "1642, Nov. 24.—The souldiers brake open the chappel door and offered violence to the organ." "1643, May 1.—My chappel windows at Lambeth defaced and the steps torn up." Such are among the touching entries in Laud's Diary, prefixed to his Troubles and Tryal, pp. 65, 66.

[3] Ducarel's Lambeth Palace, p. 26.

history of these windows. The charge made against the unfortunate Laud betrays the wilful ignorance, no less than the fanaticism, of his Puritan enemies. The original designs of these windows were no doubt taken from one of a class of books known in later years by the name of 'Biblia Pauperum,' which were in reality monuments of monastic piety and art. Nor must they be passed over without a few words of special mention. The Monasteries, however much their original objects were perverted, were designed to be schools of art as well as nurseries of religion; and indeed in those days all art was dedicated to religion. Religion enlisted art as its handmaid, and the means of giving expression to its inmost feelings, while art found in religion its noblest subjects and its chief patron.

In those days, too, the mass of the people of all ranks were profoundly ignorant: many of the priests even, it is said, "could not spell the Breviary." To impart some knowledge to such minds, to teach the very teachers, this plan was adopted: Books were written, or rather painted, on vellum, —and often richly illuminated,—on the favourite and appropriate plan of three pictures side by side—the central one representing an event in our Lord's life, and on either side some typical incident in the early history of the Jews, with a few words explanatory of each subject. Very few of these rich repositories of medieval devotion have

been rescued from destruction; one, however, of great beauty, believed to be of the thirteenth century, may be seen in the British Museum.

So fully was the usefulness and value of these works realised, that among the earliest attempts at printing about the middle of the fifteenth century,[1] were outline engravings of these designs, which are known under the name of "Block-books," from being engraved—picture, inscriptions, and all—in blocks, before movable types had been adopted. These books are commonly known by the name of 'Biblia Pauperum,'[2] or *Poor Men's Bibles.* By some,[3] it has been suggested that this is an abbreviation of a longer title, 'Biblia Pauperum Predicatorum,' the *Poor Preachers' Bible*, as being, in fact, a volume of 'Skeleton Sermons' for the help of unskilled preachers. Be this as it may, the piety and wisdom of the design are clear. Here was a means, if not the only one in that day, of imparting Scriptural knowledge to unlettered minds; for here were represented the leading events of the Saviour's life, and side by side the lessons of corresponding prophecy and type.

[1] Baron Heinecken, 'Idée générale d'une Collection complète d'Estampes,' p. 293 *et seq.*, thinks a still earlier date may be assigned to them. He says he met with a copy from wood-blocks on which was written, *S. Ansgarius est auctor hujus libri.* Now St Ansgarius was Bishop of Hamburg and afterwards of Bremen in the ninth century.

[2] This title seems to have been adopted by Baron Heinecken. Meerman, in his 'Origines Typographicæ,' thus describes it: "Figuræ typicæ veteris atque antitypicæ Novi Testamenti; seu Historia Jesu Christi in figuris."

[3] Chatto on Wood Engraving, pp. 103, 104. See Hartwell Horne's Introduction to the Study of the Bible, vol. v. pp. 73-76.

One use, and that which especially concerns us —if it were not a part of the original object— grew up out of circumstances, and has survived that primary one which the advance of learning has rendered obsolete. These designs, transferred by the exercise of another art into the windows of our Cathedrals, parish Churches, and private Chapels, impressed their subjects on the minds of thousands who might otherwise have been little capable of receiving, far less of retaining them. Thus windows with their storied panes, which the educated *connoisseur* of to-day scans with critical eye merely as works of art, represent what 400 or 500 years ago were the only Scripture lesson-books—picture-books we might call them—of that time; for through them, as through "the windows of the mind," flowed in to the devout worshipper the light of Gospel truth, a knowledge and a hope of salvation.

From such a source had Morton taken the designs for his beautiful windows in Lambeth Chapel. From such was Laud able to restore the dilapidated remains of Morton's work a century and a half after.

The state in which Laud found them when he came to the See, shall be described in the very words in which, at his Trial, his bitter enemy Prynne says he defended their restoration: "He alleged that the chappel, at his comming to Lambeth, lay so nastily, and the windowes were so

peeced and quite out of order and reparation, that it grieved his very heart to see it in such a condition; so as he could not resort unto it to worship God with any comfort: whereupon he gave order for repairing, renewing the glasse windowes, and out of the fragments of the old painted glasse remaining in them (not by the helpe of the pictures in his printed Masse Booke), he made a shift as well as he could, to make up the stories and representation formerly defaced, without any addition, but only of new glasse in lieu of the old that was demolished."[1]

Laud's own account of the restoration of the windows is thus given in his defence:[2] "I and my secretary (Mr Dell) made out the story as well as we could by the remains that were unbroken." Some of them, according to Prynne's charge,[3] were taken from a book entitled 'Imagines Vitæ, Passionis, et Mortis, N.D. Jesu Christi,' printed by Boetius a Bolswert in the year 1623, which was probably a reprint or adaptation of some Block-book of the preceding century. The two statements admit of being very easily reconciled, by supposing that Laud, tracing in this book a near approach to the figures, of which fragments remained in the windows, was able to fill in from the one on the lines of the other, a sufficiently close restoration of the original designs.

[1] Prynne's Canterburie's Doome, p. 61.
[2] History of his Troubles and Tryal, p. 311.
[3] Canterburie's Doome, pp. 60, 61.

The subjects, which we take from Prynne's description,[1] were as follows: Beginning with the west bay on the north side, in the *atrium*, immediately on the left hand on entering the west door, the centre light represented the Annunciation, the Virgin Mary, with the angel saluting her and the Holy Ghost overshadowing her, and also in the same light the Birth of Christ; in one side light, Moses at the Burning Bush; in the other, Gideon beside his fleece. In the next, the Virgin Mary with the Babe in her arms and the Wise Men in adoration;[2] on one side, the tribes of Israel going up to Hebron to crown David; on the other, the Queen of Sheba coming to consult Solomon. In the third, the raising of Lazarus from the dead, between the raising of the son of the widow of Zarephath by Elijah, and that of the Shunammite's child by Elisha. The fourth bay apparently then, as now, opened into what is called Cranmer's Parlour, and was used as the Organ Chamber. The five lights of the east window were thus filled: In the centre light was represented the Crucifixion,[3]

[1] Canterburie's Doome, pp. 60, 61.

[2] Underneath, the text, "Omnes gentes quascunque fecisti venient et adorabunt."

[3] Prynne calls this "a large crucifix," and based on it one of his gravest charges of a tendency to Popery; to which Laud replied in his defence (Laud's Troubles and Tryal, p. 311): "It was standing in my predecessor's time, though a little broken; so I did but mend it—I did not set it up." Under it were the lines—

Ecce Pater Mystes Ubi natus victima tristis,
Certaque morborum serpens medicina dolorum,
Designant Jesum mundi pro crimine cæsum.

Under the one thief the words "Domine, memento mei;" and under the

Christ upon the Cross, the High Priests and Soldiers standing around; while in the adjoining lights, as forming a part of the same scene, were the Two Thieves; and in the outer lights,—on the one side, the offering of Isaac—and on the other, the lifting up of the Brazen Serpent. The eastern bay on the south side, as on the north, was blank. On the first window on that side was the Resurrection between the types, Jonah coming out of the whale's belly, and Samson effecting his escape from Gaza with the gates of the city on his back. The next window contained the Ascension, with, on either side, the taking up into heaven of Enoch and Elias. In the third was the Descent of the Holy Ghost, between the giving of the Law on Mount Sinai and Elijah calling down fire from heaven on Mount Carmel. And in the last window, in the *atrium*, was represented Christ on the Judgment-seat, with the twelve apostles sitting beside Him and the world kneeling at His feet; in one side light, Solomon on his throne judging between the two harlots; and in the other, David passing judgment on the Amalekite who had slain Saul.

The execution of these windows must have been very effective, for even the unsympathising mind of Prynne could not refrain from giving expression to a sense of admiration: in his description of the

other, "Descendat de cruce." The date 1634 was also added, as noting the year in which the work was completed.

Annunciation he says it was "gloriously painted;" and of the figure of Christ in the Ascension, that it was "in fresh, glorious colours."

After this long digression into the history of the windows, to be resumed in describing their recent renovation, we return to an examination of the other parts of the Chapel.

First, of the roof. Before the alterations in 1846, a flat panelled ceiling covered the whole, just above the lancet-windows: in several of the eastern panels appeared the arms of Archbishop Laud, as also in many other parts of the Chapel. It has been often thought that this panelling must have been a substitution for an earlier high-pitched, groined roof; but we look in vain for any allusion to such ornament in the Register of the See, or in any other records; nor is there any indication on the east face of Chicheley's Tower that a high-pitched roof ever existed. The leads appear to have been always at their present level; and a nearly flat roof seems to have been customary in the case of domestic chapels of that period, and to have been adopted for the purpose of providing an elevated place for air and exercise. This flat roof was doubtless thus used by the occupants of the adjoining Water Tower.

Mention has been made of the screen at the western end. Such a construction appears to have formed part of the original design; but, like

the windows, Archbishop Laud found it in sad disrepair — "lying nastily," as he says. He replaced it by the one still standing, which, despite its utter want of harmony with the general features of the building, may, in massive character and elaborateness of carving, fairly rank among the best specimens of the Caroline age. On the decanal side, the Archbishop's stall also contains some rich carving. A panelling, less elaborate, and apparently of a later date, ran along each side of the walls, blocking up the lower portion of the windows; this, with the present stalls, was probably introduced by Juxon.

Many and memorable are the events connected with this Chapel. Among the earliest of them is one very noteworthy in the history of the Church of England: here, in April 1378—over 500 years ago—stood John Wickliffe before Archbishop Sudbury, arraigned for heretical teaching on the crucial subject of Transubstantiation. Once already Wickliffe had appeared before Sudbury; then it was at St Paul's Cathedral; then, moreover, John of Gaunt and Lord Percy, Earl Marshal of England, had stood by his side as his friends and champions, for he denounced the ill-gained and ill-spent wealth of the Monastic houses, on which the extravagant and impoverished laymen of the day were casting covetous eyes, and were eager to lay their hands. But not so in Lambeth Chapel; now neither Prince nor Noble stood with him; for

the charges laid against him referred to what was then regarded as the foundation of all Catholic doctrine; and on this point they shrank from making common cause with him. Yet all men did not forsake him. That little Chapel was the scene of a demonstration still more significant, if less lordly, than that which had taken place at St Paul's: a crowd of Lollard citizens, hearing of Wickliffe's danger, had flocked to Lambeth, and as his self-constituted body-guard had forced their way into the very Chapel.[1] The Primate and his assessor-bishops were in consternation: the throng could not be ejected—they would not be silenced. At the height of the Archbishop's perplexity, a new and even more formidable intruder presented himself — Sir Lewis Clifford arrived, a very *Deus ex machinâ*, bearing a mandate from the Queen-mother, forbidding sentence to be passed on the brave Reformer. At the sight of him, in the quaint language of old Foxe, "they were so amazed, and their coombes so cut, that they became mute and speechless."[2] Thus Wickliffe escaped a second time from the hands of his enemies; the meshes of the net, in which they regarded him as hopelessly entangled, were again cut asunder; and he walked out of Lambeth Chapel free and unhurt.

Here, too, twenty years after, one William

[1] Walsingham's History (1603), p. 205.
[2] Foxe's Martyrs (1632), vol. i. p. 565.

Taylor, a priest, who had been accused of heresy before Archbishop Arundel, read his recantation and received absolution, kneeling at the feet of Chicheley; though within a year he was again arraigned on the same charge before Courtenay, then Bishop of London, and suffered at Smithfield.[1]

Lambeth Chapel was also the scene of another incident of perhaps more historical value than any yet mentioned. When in 1558 the Throne and the See of Canterbury became vacant, within a few hours of each other, by the deaths of Queen Mary and Cardinal Pole, one of Elizabeth's first thoughts was to secure for the Primacy Dr Matthew Parker, whom she held in loving remembrance as the Chaplain and comforter of her murdered mother. He had remained comparatively unnoticed, except for his learning, in the University of Cambridge, during the reign of Edward VI. He had perhaps too little in common with the progressive zeal of the foreign Reformers, who were then endangering the very foundations of the English Church; and during the following reign of blood his safety lay in retirement. But at once Queen Elizabeth singled him out, and appointed him to the vacant chair of Canterbury. A full account of his consecration is to be found not only in 'The Lambeth Registers,' but in a MS. account in the Archbishop's

[1] Arundel's Register, f. 54.

own handwriting, which is preserved in the Library of his own College, Corpus Christi, Cambridge, of which he had been a Scholar, and was Master when advanced to the See of Canterbury. It is there recorded that he was consecrated *in Sacello suo apud Manerium suum de Lambeth;* and that at the close of the sermon he passed through the north door into the vestry — *per Borealem portam in vestiarium* — from whence, when duly vested by his Chaplains, he returned into the Chapel to receive the Holy Communion. Here is a circumstantiality and accuracy of description—for that room at the north-east of the Chapel, already described as the lower storey of Cranmer's Tower, still remains, and is to this day used as a Vestry—surely refutation enough of the unscrupulous after-thought fabricated by the Romanists, who represent Parker's Consecration as having been irregularly performed at the Nag's Head Inn, in Cheapside.[1] A striking coincidence this, that on the very spot where, nearly two centuries before, John Wickliffe had confronted Sudbury, Matthew Parker's consecration inaugurated, or rather consolidated, the principles of the Reformation, of which Wickliffe was England's first pioneer, and for which he had there stood in peril of his life: the one had now possession of the citadel for which the other had led the forlorn-hope.

[1] A fabrication so often exposed that even the Romanists have now abandoned it.

Nor is another incident in that ceremonial without its historical value. The very vestments then worn were a singular yet significant blending of the past, present, and future of the English Church, indicating that catholicity of spirit which admitted of variety in externals. There stood William Barlow, Bishop of Bath, and designate of Chichester, in rich silken cope (*capâ sericâ*), John Scory of Hereford, and John Hodgskins, Suffragan of Bedford, "in fair linen surplices" (*linteis suppelliceis*), and old Miles Coverdale, late of Exeter, in long Geneva gown (*togâ lanea talari*). It was a memorable and suggestive, if somewhat extreme, exhibition of unity without rigid uniformity. Here were four of the eight canonically consecrated Bishops of the reigns of Henry VIII. and Edward VI. who had escaped or survived the Marian persecution, merging any differences of private opinion, and making common cause in the preservation of the line of the Anglican Episcopate, by taking part in that Consecration.

This memorable Consecration was followed four days after by that of four more Bishops, and again, a month later, by the same number, to fill the Sees which had been vacated by death or deposition. Grindal was appointed to that of London, Cox to Ely, Meyrick to Bangor, Sandys to Worcester, Bullingham to Lincoln, Jewel to Salisbury, Young to St David's, and Davies to St Asaph. Mean-

while, on the very day after Parker's Consecration, an Ordination was held in Lambeth Chapel by Scory, now Bishop of Hereford, by order and authority of the Archbishop, at which eleven were admitted into Deacon's, and ten of them the same day into Priest's Orders, as a first step towards supplying the pressing need of Parochial Clergy.[1]

Mention has been made of the variety of the vestments at Parker's Consecration; yet, while such latitude was permissible — indeed, almost necessary—under the exceptional circumstances of that Consecration, it was soon found desirable to enforce a closer observance of conformity in vestments in the ordinary ministrations of the Church. The city clergy were the first to be brought under this stricter rule,[2] and Lambeth was to be the scene of the Conference. On the 20th of March 1566, Parker, and Grindal, then Bishop of London, announced to Sir William Cecil, Principal Secretary of State, their intention to hold this Conference: "We mean" (they wrote) "to call all manner of pastors and curates within the city of London to appear before us at Lambeth in the Chapel there; . . . we intend particularly to examine every of them whether they will promise conformity in their ministrations and outward apparel—established by law and injunc-

[1] Strype's Annals, &c., pp. 159, 160.

[2] It was thought, as Bishop Cox of Ely wrote to the Archbishop, "that if London were reformed all the realm would follow."

tion—and testify the same by subscription of their hands."[1] On the 26th of the month the Archbishop writes again to Cecil reporting the result of the Conference: "I must signify to your honour what this day we have done in the examination of London ministers. Sixty-one promised conformity; nine or ten were absent;[2] thirty-seven denied, of which number were the best, and some preachers; six or seven convenient sober men, pretending a conscience, divers of them but zealous, and of little learning and judgment. . . . They showed reasonable quietness and modesty, otherwise than I looked for. I think some of them will come in when they shall feel their want; specially such as but in a spiced fancy hold out.[3]

Still closer are the associations of this Chapel with the after-life of Parker—closer than with any of those who preceded or followed him in the See. Nearly all his predecessors had been buried with much pomp in their Grand Metropolitan Cathedral of Canterbury; their graves marked with costly tombs, rich in architecture and heraldic blazonry: it was his special desire that his corpse should

[1] Original letter in Lansdowne MSS., viii., art. 86; and printed in Parker's Correspondence (Parker Society), pp. 267, 268.

[2] Miles Coverdale, who never resumed his Bishopric, and was living privately in London, was among the absentees; his letter of excuse is in the Lambeth MSS., No. 959, art. 58, and is printed in his 'Remains,' published by the Parker Society, p. 532.

[3] Lansdowne MSS. ix., art. 35, printed in Parker's Correspondence, pp. 269, 270.

find its resting-place within this peaceful Chapel. Here, in the south-east corner, it was his daily wont to retire for prayer; and here, near the very spot where he had so often knelt, was an altar-tomb erected, even during his lifetime, under which his body might be laid when his soul had returned to God who gave it.[1]

An inscription for this tomb was composed by his learned friend Dr Walter Haddon, to the laudatory terms of which the good Archbishop, with characteristic humility, demurred, and only consented to its being inserted at the foot of the tomb as helping (as he said) to keep before his eyes what he ought to be, and desired to be, rather than what he was. It ran thus:—

Sobrius et prudens, studiis excultus et usu,
Integer, et veræ relligionis amans,
Matthæus vixit Parkerus; foverat illum
Aula virum juvenem, fovit et aula senem.
Ordine res gessit, recti defensor et æqui;
Vixerat ille Deo, mortuus ille Deo est.

In this spot his body was duly laid: but, in accordance with the wish expressed in his Will, his heart was taken out and deposited in the tomb in the Duke's, or Norfolk, Chapel, in the Parish Church, where already lay the remains of his wife

[1] The wish was thus expressed in his Will: "Item, when all things aforesaid [regarding his funeral] is prepared and finished, then I will that my corps be buried in the upper end of the Chappel, against the Communion Table on the south side, directly against my accustomed place of prayer."—Parker's Will in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury; and printed in Battely's Appendix to Somner's Canterbury, p. 38.

and their son Matthew, who had been cut off in the prime of manhood.

After Parker, came in succession, Grindal, Whitgift, Bancroft, and Abbot, with Episcopates comparatively peaceful, though not without warnings of the coming troubles.

The Chapel meanwhile, if we may accept the graphic but unauthenticated account of a recent writer,[1] proved too true an index of the change which was passing over the political and religious mind of England: "The Chapel of Lambeth House was one of the most conspicuous among the ecclesiastical buildings of the time: it was a place 'whither many of the nobility, judges, clergy, and persons of all sorts, as well strangers as natives, resorted.' But all pomp of worship gradually passed away from it. Under Cranmer the stained glass was dashed from the window. In Elizabeth's time the Communion-table was moved into the middle of the Chapel, and the credence-table destroyed. Under James, Archbishop Abbot put the finishing stroke on all attempts at a high ceremonial. The cope was no longer used as a special vestment in the Communion. The Primate and his chaplains forbore to bow at the name of Christ. The organ and choir were alike abolished, and the service reduced to a simplicity which would have satisfied Calvin."

But little did it satisfy Laud. Refusing to see

[1] J. R. Green's History of the English People, vol. ii. pp. 15, 16.

the signs of the times, defying all consequences, he set himself to restore the injured fabric and the shorn ceremonial; and thus helped to draw down on himself the violence of the gathering storm.

And when the storm burst, Lambeth House and Lambeth Chapel were destined to feel much of its concentrated force. On the 25th November 1640, Laud had been sent to the Tower. He was brought before the Council on the 18th of the following month, and on that day permitted to return for a brief, and, as it proved, a last visit to his home. The tale of that last visit shall be told in his own words: "I was committed to the Gentleman Usher, but was permitted to go in his company to my house at Lambeth for a book or two to read in, and such papers as pertained to my defence against the Scots. I stayed at Lambeth till the evening, to avoid the gazing of the people. I went to evening prayer in my chappel. The Psalms of the day, Psalms 93 and 94, and chapter l. of Esai, gave me great comfort. God make me worthy of it and fit to receive it. As I went to my barge, hundreds of my poor neighbours stood there and prayed for my safety and return to my house; for which I bless God and them."[1] But that return was not granted him. He passed back to the Tower, bidding a long farewell to Lambeth and all its treasured associations, though his life was prolonged for more than three years.[2]

[1] Laud's Diary, p. 60.

[2] He was beheaded Jan. 10, 1644.

Fifty years after, on Whitsunday 1691, another Archbishop was joining in another "last service" in this Chapel. Here, the very day on which his successor, Tillotson, was being consecrated at St Mary-le-bone, Sancroft, under a deep sense of imagined wrong, having gathered around him kindred and sympathising spirits, closed his connection with Lambeth by the attempt to inaugurate a great schism, the bonding together, in the most solemn Eucharistic rite, men pledged to organise an independent Church.

And it was in this Chapel, three short years after, that Tillotson received his death-stroke of palsy, only lingering for five days, almost speechless.

But between that last evensong of Laud's, and that first "Nonjuror" Communion of Sancroft, troublous times had intervened; a flood of sedition had swept over the land; Lambeth and its Chapel had witnessed what fanatical and unbridled licence, in the name and under the garb of religion, could effect; and to this day the Chapel retains its memorial of those sad times.

Laud had fallen, really the victim of personal hatred even more than of religious suspicion: his Royal master too had fallen. Lambeth House had been seized by the Puritan Parliament, and used as a prison for Loyalists,[1] and eventually in 1648 sold to two of their unscrupulous minions.[2] The Great Hall had been levelled with the ground,

[1] *Supra*, p. 232.

[2] *Supra*, p. 241.

and the materials sold; the beautiful windows of the Chapel had been utterly demolished. How the screen, the work of the man they especially hated, escaped the ruthless hands of the spoilers —what withheld them from breaking down the carved work thereof with axes and hammers—is truly a marvel, especially when it is remembered that, with flagrant inconsistency, these Puritan zealots turned this house of prayer into a dancing-room![1] There stood Parker's tomb, staring them in the face: was it because its presence checked their mirth and revelry? was it as a relic of a hated Episcopacy? or was it under the recollection that he whose bones lay beneath it had steadfastly resisted the attempted innovations of certain foreign Reformers, reverent-minded men at least, though extravagant in their zeal?—we pause not to inquire; it is enough to record the fact, that these, their spurious descendants, with sacrilegious hands, broke open the tomb, removed and sold the leaden coffin, and cast the bones of the Archbishop upon the dunghill! A scene this which would find no inapt description in the burning words of Bishop Cleveland Coxe in his 'Christian Ballads'—

> "A lawless soldier tramples
> Where the holy loved to kneel:
> And he spurns the Bishop's ashes
> With his ruffian hoof of steel;"

[1] Strype's Life of Parker, pp. 498, 499.

and that in the name of religion, and under the pretext of a purer Christianity.[1]

Happily for Lambeth Chapel,—happily for England,—theirs was but a short tenure of power. Twelve years later the Throne and the See were again filled; Lambeth Chapel was purified, and to some extent restored; the grey stone slabs and granite top which composed the tomb, though evidently reduced from their original proportions, were again brought together, and placed in the antechapel; and though Dr Haddon's original inscription had disappeared, another from the pen of the indignant Sancroft took its place, and still remains at the foot of the tomb to tell its tale of sacrilege.[2]

[1] Even a Pagan poet cannot contemplate such an act without execration—

"Barbarus, heu, cineres insistet victor, et Urbem
Eques sonante verberabit ungula!
Quæque carent ventis et solibus, ossa Quirini,
Nefas videre! dissipabit insolens."

—Hor., Epod. xvi. 11.

[2] Matthæi Archiepiscopi Cenotaphium.
Corpus enim (ne nescias, lector,)
In adyto hujus sacelli olim rite conditum,
A sectariis perduellibus, anno MDCXLVIII.,
Effracto sacrilegè hoc ipso tumulo,
Elogio sepulchrali impié refixo,
Direptis nefariè exuviis plumbeis,
Spoliatum, violatum, eliminatum;
Etiam sub sterquilinia (proh scelus) abstrusum,
Rege demum (plaudente cœlo et terrâ) redeunte,
Ex decreto Baronum Angliæ, sedulo quesitum,
Et sacello postliminio redditum,
In ejus quasi medio tandem quiescit;
Et quiescat utinam,
Non nisi tubâ ultimâ solicitandum.
Qui denuo desecrabit, sacer esto.

On Sancroft[1] also devolved the further work of recovering the remains of Parker. Learning from Sir William Dugdale the fate of the good Archbishop's body, he obtained an Order from the House of Lords calling on the desecrators of the sanctuary and the disturbers of the dead to gather up the bones out of the dunghill, and had them reverently encased and buried in the middle of the Chapel, the spot being marked by a stone bearing the brief touching inscription—

Thus was effected such restitution as was possible of those dishonoured, yet honoured, remains.[2]

[1] D'Oyly's Life of Sancroft, vol. i. p. 192. So also Strype credits Sancroft with this act of restoration: though Anthony à Wood (Athenæ Oxonienses, vol. i. p. 689) would incline to ascribe it to Juxon.

[2] Dart in his History of Canterbury, p. 171, thus powerfully describes the scene: "Because the tomb of the venerable Archbishop stared them in the face and checked their mirth, it was broken to pieces, his bones dug up by Hardinge (*sic*), to whose share this part of the Palace fell; and opening the leaden coffin, and cutting away the cerecloths, of which there were many folds, the flesh seemed very fresh. The corpse, thus stripped, was conveyed into the outhouse for poultry and dung, and buried among the offal; but

Juxon meanwhile had, with pious munificence, renewed the fabric of the Chapel, repairing the breaches which the Parliamentarians had made, and, in loving remembrance of his ill-fated predecessor and friend, restoring the screen-work and the roof on which the arms of Laud were richly emblazoned,—in only one place in the Chapel leaving a memento of himself, on the shield borne by the angel under the little bay-window at the west end.

Thus had Juxon prepared the Chapel to be again a fitting resting-place for the recovered ashes of Matthew Parker. Such as he made it did it remain, with only a few occasional repairs by his successors Secker and Moore, until, in 1846, Archbishop Howley,—having, like a second Morton, carried out improvements wherever he made his home—at Oxford, in London, at Fulham,—having completed the extensive alterations in the private apartments of the Palace, set himself to impart to the Chapel a renovation which should make it correspond with the other portions of the venerable pile. He removed the bald high panelling with which the sides were encased and the lower portions of the windows blocked up, and substituted for the flat ceiling a lofty groined roof; an alteration which has been often looked on as

upon the Restoration of King Charles, that wretch Hardynge was forced to discover where it was; whereupon the Archbishop had it honourably reinterred in the same Chapel near the steps of the altar."

a doubtful improvement, until the pure taste of the lamented Mrs Tait, and the liberality of the Archbishop and his friends, imparted to the whole a beauty which probably equals that which it had received just four centuries before from the princely Morton. Now the windows,[1] once more telling in exquisite tones the "old, old story," as they had told it from the pages of the 'Biblia Pauperum' to our unlettered forefathers, shed down their varied rays on the marble pavement below; and the ceiling, bay by bay, is being embellished with a richness of illumination, which hardly the age or taste of Morton himself could have excelled; while the fact that one of the windows is an offering from the American Bishops, presents a richness of combination of the Old World with the New, which in the days of Morton would have been denounced as visionary and impossible.

The present arrangement of subjects, while retaining the general design as introduced by Morton and restored by Laud, so far differs from the earlier ones, that instead of each light being occupied by a single subject, now two, and in the central lights three, subjects are introduced in square compartments; each has a short descriptive Latin text running under it. In the *atrium*, or ante-chapel, no change has yet been made; the windows still retain the simple diapered glass which Archbishop Howley had inserted throughout the Chapel. The

[1] Those are the production of Messrs Clayton & Bell.

first window on the north side contains, in the lower portion of the centre, the Flight into Egypt, and in either side-light the types of Jacob fleeing to Laban, and David being let down from the window to escape the anger of Saul. Above these is Our Lord's Baptism in Jordan, between the types of Noah entering into the Ark, and the Israelites passing through the Red Sea; and in the upper part of the central light, Our Lord blessing little children. In the next window the history is carried on by the representation of Our Lord's triumphal entry into Jerusalem, between those of David's welcome with the head of Goliath in his hand, and Elijah taken up into heaven: over these the Last Supper, typified on the one side by Melchizedek offering bread and wine, and on the other by the Fall of the Manna; and above all, the Supper at Emmaus. The five lights of the east window are thus filled: in the centre the Crucifixion; on one side Isaac carrying the wood, and Abraham in the act of slaying him; on the other, Moses lifting up the Brazen Serpent, and the High Priest sacrificing the Paschal Lamb; while above these is the Resurrection, between the lifting of Joseph out of the pit, and the escape of Samson from Gaza, on one side, and Jonah thrown overboard, and afterwards cast up on dry land, on the other. On the south side is the window to the memory of Craufurd Tait, which "many friends of all degrees and ranks united in dedicating as a memorial of love."

It contains in the centre the Risen Saviour appearing to Mary, between the appearance of the Angel to Gideon in the wine-press, and that to Jacob at the brook; over these the Ascension of our Lord, with that of Enoch on one side, and Elijah on the other; and in the upper portion of the central light the Unbelief of St Thomas removed. The last window on this side—the offering of the American Bishops in commemoration of their presence at the Lambeth Conference in 1878—contains the ordination of St Matthias; under it the descent of the Holy Ghost at Pentecost, and on either side its types—the giving of the Law on Mount Sinai, and the descent of fire on Carmel; while in the lower compartments is the representation of the Day of Judgment, between the judgment of Solomon, and David passing judgment on the Amalekite who had slain Saul. The upper portion of each side-light is filled with the figure of an Angel.

Nor are the windows the only part of the Chapel which have been beautified. The groined roof, as already mentioned, is being richly decorated with fresco; the entire length of the east wall, under the window-line, has been filled in with an exquisite reredos composed of stones in mosaic-work; the pavement has been relaid, diamonds of black and white marble substituted for the former slabs of stone; the old altar-rail—a series of bald balusters—has happily been removed: but

the two doors which formed the centre, choice examples of the carving skill and taste of Grinling Gibbons, are not to be lost; placed at either side on the upper step, they will still adorn the Chapel, while they mark in the even line of wall the break between the chancel and choir.

Such is Lambeth Chapel now; in present use little more than a "domestic sanctuary," in history and character a "national shrine." We have dwelt long on the details and the incidents connected with it, and would linger yet a little longer, for herein lies the crowning interest of this venerable pile.

Who can stand here without feeling that the ground he treads is holy ground, not merely in its dedication to holy uses, but in its memories of the past history of England's Church?

Here, under varying phases of religious opinion, under varying conditions of sunshine and of storm, have knelt those who had risen to the highest offices in Church and State. Here, too, have been felt the throbbings of a nation's pulse, when those momentous crises of England's history, the Reformation, the Rebellion, and the Revolution, in turn convulsed the kingdom. From hence have gone forth to suffer, a Cranmer to the stake, a Laud to the block, a Sancroft into peaceful retirement, rather than sacrifice or prove false to what they believed to be God's truth.

Rich, too, is Lambeth Chapel in its memories of

more peaceful events, especially in the records of Consecrations solemnised within its walls. But before speaking of them, notice must be taken of two scenes of which little is known. On Whitsunday, May 15, 1692, exactly a year after Sancroft's Nonjuror Communion, Charles Lennox, one of the natural sons of Charles II., who had been created Duke of Richmond and Lennox, openly retracted the errors of the Church of Rome into which he had been inveigled (he was then not quite twenty years of age), and was restored by Archbishop Tillotson into the Communion of the English Church;[1] and in 1709 the succeeding Primate, Tenison, in solemn form received the Earl of Dumbarton into the English Church on his renunciation of the errors of Rome.[2]

In early days Consecrations were held chiefly at Canterbury; but occasionally at Westminster, or at St Paul's, or in one of the private chapels attached to their several manor-houses, as suited the convenience of the Primate.[3] All the Archbishops, from Alphege, in 984, to Thomas à Becket, 1162, were consecrated in Canterbury Cathedral, excepting Eadsige, in 1035, at St Martin's, Canterbury, and

[1] The full account is given in one of the Gibson MSS. in the Palace Library, vol. v., No. 933, f. 63; Ducarel's Lambeth Palace, Appendix, p. 60.

[2] Ibid., p. 62.

[3] See Le Neve's Lives of the Archbishops, and Stubbs's Registrum Anglicanum.

Stigand, in 1043, at Westminster. Becket's successor, Richard, through the unnatural antagonism of his Royal namesake to the wishes of his father, was consecrated abroad, at Anagni; while Stephen Langton at Viterbo, Boniface at Lyons, and John Peckham at Rome, were consecrated in each case by the then Pope, a fact significant of the rivalry between the Papacy and the English Crown. Baldwin, however, to whom the design of the Lambeth residence was due, had been consecrated, as it is expressly recorded, *apud Lamhee;* and no other Archbishop received consecration here until John Morton, just 300 years after, and that would be in the Chapel itself which he afterwards so greatly embellished. But from the days of Warham consecrations became very frequent here; and from his successor Cranmer's time till far into that of Sumner, Lambeth Chapel was the normal place for holding them.[1] On the Restoration, indeed, in consequence of the number to be consecrated to the vacant Sees, six at one time and seven at another, Archbishop Juxon availed himself of the greater spaciousness of Henry VII.'s Chapel. With a few other isolated exceptions, all the Bishops of the southern province were consecrated in Lambeth Chapel. Altogether, between the times of Archbishops Warham and Sumner it has been the scene of some 400 Consecrations; and from that of Archbishop Parker, with the exceptions

[1] See Appendix A.

of Laud, Sheldon, Sancroft, and Tillotson, each successive occupant of the Metropolitical See itself received within these walls his Divine Warrant for the exercise of his high office in the Church of Christ. Here had knelt also to receive the anointing of Consecration, such men as John Hooper, John Jewell, Launcelot Andrewes, John Overall, Thomas Ken, Edward Stillingfleet, Joseph Hall, William Beveridge, George Bull, Edmund Gibson, Joseph Butler, Thomas Newton, George Horne, Robert Lowth, William Van-Mildert, Edward Copleston, Henry Philpotts, Samuel Wilberforce, and others of scarcely less note, who, distinguished for their learning or the saintliness of their character, were a living influence among their brethren, and adorned the office which ennobled them.

Of late years—indeed ever since the memorable St Bartholomew's Day, 1842, when, as the first-fruits of the appeal of the preceding year on behalf of Colonial Bishoprics, five Bishops were sent forth,—and on many later occasions, when, from the number to be consecrated, more accommodation was required, and greater publicity deemed desirable—Westminster Abbey, St Paul's, Canterbury Cathedral have been resorted to. Not to the disparagement of the little Chapel at Lambeth; for how utterly inadequate had its limited area[1] become to meet the demands which the awakened

[1] It could barely seat 150 persons.

interest arising from the revival of organic life in the Church had rendered necessary! When it is remembered that the congregations eager to take part in so solemn a service are to be counted, not by tens, as was the case even forty years ago, but by thousands—not now merely the few most close personal friends of the Bishop elect, but the many to whom he may be personally unknown, who yet desire to swell with voice and heart the diapason of prayer on behalf of him who is to receive his new and highest office in the Church of Christ; when it is remembered that, for instance, on the Consecration of Bishop Maclagan to the See of Lichfield in St Paul's Cathedral in June 1878, there were above 500 communicants alone, while the congregation was described as being "enormous," and that on other similar occasions they have been scarcely less numerous,—it is easy to realise the necessity that for such purposes the small Chapel at Lambeth Palace should fall into disuse.

Yet let us dwell lovingly on the lingering memories of that sanctuary, which may still be regarded as the original centre of Anglican Church-life. From hence issued the living energy of its Episcopate; from hence radiated its light of Apostolic truth and order, ever and again reflected back in revivifying light.

For it is not only in the succession of the Home Episcopate of the English Church that Lambeth Chapel is to be regarded as "holy ground," but

also, and perhaps to future generations especially, hallowed as a witness of the earliest life-throes of the Anglican Church, while giving birth to the Episcopacy of her Colonial Church.

It were indeed a long tale to tell, how with the Restoration came the deep conviction that our infant plantations in the Far West, the outcome of the colonising zeal of the previous half-century, should no longer be left as Bishopless branches of an Episcopal Church; how pious hearts at home were yearning for that closer bond between the mother Church and her scattered children, by which alone could be maintained in all its fulness the reciprocity of spiritual life; how, in the nervous pregnant language of the saintly George Herbert—

> "Religion stood on tiptoe in our land,
> Ready to pass to the American strand;"[1]

how Charles II. promised, only to break his promise when the influence of Clarendon ceased; how Anne, too, promised, and planned, but did not live to carry out; how George Berkeley for years struggled, with noble self-sacrifice, only to feel the more keenly the disappointment resulting from the temporising disingenuousness of the unscrupulous Walpole; how Secker's[2] eloquence pleaded for the exiles; how they pleaded for themselves, and waited

[1] "The Church Militant."

[2] Archbishop Secker also bequeathed £1000 to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, towards the Endowment of two Bishoprics in America.

in hope, but all in vain. All this were long to tell. Suffice it to say that so intense had become the desire,—fed by the hopes raised and promises ever and again held out from home,—not to have mere "Commissioners," such as Drs Blair and Braye, whom the sympathy of Henry Compton, Bishop of London, had sent, which were the best, nay all, that he could offer, but Bishops of their own; how some of them, not without much hesitation and reluctance, had sought consecration at the hands of Nonjurors; how the great body of American Churchmen, though they had only just severed political connection with the mother country, yearning to preserve the ecclesiastical connection, sent one of their own body, Dr Samuel Seabury, in the hope of obtaining more valid consecration,—only once more to meet with disappointment,—until the Scottish Church, in the enjoyment of greater independence from State control, came to their help and granted what the technical scruples of Statesmen and the timidity of the English Bishops had so long refused.

Then, however, at last, and not till then, did the mother Church recognise the need of her children abroad, and realise her own obligation to them.

Memorable, indeed, is the year 1787 in the history of the English Church for the Consecration of the first Bishops of that young nation which was now rising up in America. An event which marks

a new character, which forms a new starting-point, in Anglican Episcopacy, demands more than a passing notice.

In Lambeth Chapel—not indeed as it now appears, with its gracefully groined roof and elaborately decorated sanctuary, but with the flat panelled ceiling as Laud had restored it, save that its emblems and adornments had become sadly disfigured and dilapidated by age, with only a few scattered fragments remaining of those rich storied panes which the munificent Morton had designed and Laud had also restored, but which Puritan frenzy had wellnigh demolished—there, amid those still proud mementos of departed piety and saddening records of past troubles, was enacted a scene, the significance and importance of which not the most hopeful of that assembled band of Churchmen could fully realise. Who of those that witnessed that Consecration, however bright the eye of faith with which they might pierce the long receding vista of the future, could have foreseen the coming glory of the English Church which was there being spread out? Which of those, standing on the very spot where they and their fathers in God, for generations before, had "received the Holy Ghost for the office and work of a Bishop in the Church of God," could conceive how the solemn Service in which they were then taking part would, under God, prove the prelude to an era in which the Church of this land, hitherto so insulated and

alone, should illustrate the prophetic utterance of the Psalmist, "Instead of thy fathers thou shalt have children, whom thou mayest make princes in all lands"? Yet so it was to be.

In that Chapel, on the 14th of February 1787, stood the then Archbishop, John Moore, who barely four years before had been raised from the retired See of Bangor to the pre-eminence of Canterbury, inaugurating his elevation to the Primacy by a step which was to give a new aim—a new character—to the English Church. There beside him stood William Markham, Archbishop of York; Charles Moss, Bishop of Bath and Wells; and John Hinchcliffe, Bishop of Peterborough,—worthy representatives of the kindling Missionary spirit of the day, which their own individual example and efforts did much to promote. At their hands William White and Samuel Provoost, America's own choice, received the high commission to go back as the spiritual fathers of the infant Church in their own land—the former as Bishop of Pennsylvania, the latter of New York. Six months later (August 12, 1787), Lambeth Chapel again witnessed a similar scene. Now it was Charles Inglis, another son of the American Church—he who a few years before, while ministering in his own Church in New York, had boldly defied the band of soldiers sent to prevent his using the prayer for King George in the presence of Washington—who was chosen to fill the See of Nova Scotia, and thus to become

the worthy father of the Episcopacy in the Provinces which remained loyal to the British Crown.

After an interval of three years, in 1790, a third Bishop was given to the United States, in the person of James Madison, who was consecrated to the See of Virginia; and thus was the triple coil[1] supplied, which enabled this daughter Church to perpetuate in an independent line the Apostolic succession of her Bishops.

Thus did Archbishop Moore inaugurate the great scheme, and himself live to see the foundation laid of that Church in the United States whose Bishops and people vie with each other in testifying their affection and gratitude to the mother Church from which they drew their spiritual life and obtained their Apostolic order. This affection and gratitude they have stamped on the very charter of their constitution; for in the Preface to their Book of Common Prayer it is declared that "to the Church of England the Church of these States is indebted, under God, for her first foundation, and a long continuance of nursing care and protection."

And this was no short-lived sentiment, no transient feeling. With time it gained strength. On the one side every opportunity was seized for fos-

[1] Bishops White and Provoost were "under the conviction that they were both under implied pledges to the English Prelates not to join in the act of Consecration until there were three Bishops in this country (America) of the Anglican line, that being the Canonical number of Consecrators."—Beardsley's History of the Church in Connecticut, pp. 408, 409.

tering it; on the other, no occasion lost for giving to it heartfelt expression. It was mainly through the instrumentality of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts that the Church had been planted and nurtured, and a recognised Episcopate introduced into the United States; and for years that Society continued the chief medium of connection and communication between the mother and the daughter Church. In 1846, Ernest Hawkins, the large-hearted and energetic Secretary of that Society, had in that capacity, and also as the representative of the English Church, visited the American Dioceses to see how they fared, and to impart to them by his presence the encouraging assurance of warm sympathy and congratulation on their growth and steadfastness. A few years after, in 1853, a more marked and memorable interchange of affection was evinced. In response to an invitation from the American Bishops, a more formal and influential delegation from the Society, under the warm commendation of the Archbishop of Canterbury, not only as its President but as the Head of the English Church, proceeded to attend the General Convention at New York, when the Secretary was accompanied by one of the Colonial Bishops and two other representative dignitaries of the English Church.[1] The

[1] The Rev. George Trevor Spencer, D.D., late Lord Bishop of Madras, and the Venerable John Sinclair, M.A., Archdeacon of Middlesex, Vice-Presidents of the Society; the Rev. Ernest Hawkins, B.D., Prebendary of

cordial nature of their reception was gratefully reported to the Society, and by them recorded in thankful recognition of the feeling so warmly exhibited. "The right hand of fellowship," they said, "was extended to us freely and cordially by the whole House of Bishops, as well as by every member, lay and clerical, of the House of Deputies;" and a characteristic letter from Archbishop Sumner to the presiding Bishop of the American Church conveyed the appreciation of the Society and the mother Church. Thus, with the lapse of years—nearly a century—had the bonds of love and respect which had connected the two, been drawn more and more closely together.

Then came, in 1867, the first Pan-Anglican Conference, held at Lambeth, to which Archbishop Longley invited the Bishops of the American Church to take their places side by side with the members of the English and Colonial Episcopate. This, too, was followed by the American Convention in 1871, to which, in return, were specially invited George Augustus Selwyn, so ably representing in his own person the Colonial Church, as the first Bishop of New Zealand, and the mother Church as Bishop of Lichfield; and with him Addington Venables, Bishop of Nassau (Bahamas). Their enthusiastic welcome marked the

St Paul's, the Secretary of the Society; and the Rev. H. Caswall, M.A., Vicar of Figheldean, one of the Proctors in Convocation for the Diocese of Salisbury.—S. P. G. Report for 1854, pp. xxi, xxii.

depth of feeling towards the Church from which they came.

The following year this feeling found expression in the memorial form of a massive alms-basin of gold. The intrinsic worth of this chaste yet resplendent specimen of American design and workmanship, was enhanced by the sentiments of "veneration, affection, and gratitude," expressed not only in the words but in the emblems in which they were embodied. Within a deep border, richly jewelled and engraved, in which symbol and device proclaimed the same feelings, appeared on the boss the two hemispheres, linked together by a ribbon scroll bearing in Latin the appropriate inscription, "The New World to the Old, the West to the East, the Daughter to the Mother."

No less appropriate was the occasion on which this costly offering was made. At the Anniversary Service of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, held in St Paul's Cathedral on July 2d, 1872, Bishop M'Ilvaine (of Ohio), being delegated by the American Church, advanced with Bishop Selwyn, hand in hand, each holding the alms-basin, and on bended knees presented it to the Archbishop of Canterbury,[1] who received it in the name of the English Church, and laid it upon the altar, after having received in it the alms of that vast sympathising congregation. It

[1] Tucker's Life of Bishop Selwyn, vol. ii. p. 304: the 'Guardian' Newspaper, July 10, 1872.

was subsequently carried to Lambeth Palace, where it is preserved among its richest treasures, and used on all special occasions.[1]

Yet one other occasion remains to be noticed in which the interchange of feeling was again displayed; at the second Lambeth Conference, held in 1878, under the late Archbishop, to which the American Bishops had been personally invited by his son and domestic chaplain, Craufurd Tait—whose gentle and lovely character had won the affection of each to whom he came,[2] but was not spared to take part in the reception prepared at Lambeth for those who had responded to the invitation. At that Conference the United States were represented by nineteen of her Bishops, of whom three preached on the first Sunday of the Conference at St Paul's Cathedral; while in almost every London Church, and in many of our Cathedrals, on every Sunday during the months of July and August, one or other of the American Prelates was the preacher. Such was the welcome of the mother Church to her worthy sons from the Far West; and so deep the appreciation of the welcome, that they commemorated their visit by adding another window, as already mentioned, to those that had revived the beauty of Lambeth Chapel.

[1] Space would not admit of a full description of this elaborate and exquisite specimen of ecclesiastical workmanship being given here. In the Appendix B will be found a minute account of it, in which all its rich emblematic details are explained.

[2] Catharine and Craufurd Tait, pp. 579-584.

The Church in Canada, as originally represented by the See of Nova Scotia, remained longer dependent on the mother Church for the supply of her Episcopate. Lambeth Chapel, where Charles Inglis had been consecrated to the See of Nova Scotia in 1787, sent to him a coadjutor in 1793, in the person of Jacob Mountain, for the detached Diocese of Quebec; and in 1816 a successor to the original See of Nova Scotia—Robert Stanser; and ten years after, John Inglis, a near kinsman of the first Bishop of that See; and the following year, Charles James Stewart to fill the vacated See of Quebec; and lastly, in the year 1836, George Jehoshaphat Mountain to the newly formed Diocese of Montreal. From that date the Episcopal succession of the Church in Canada has, like that of the United States, been almost entirely maintained among themselves.

After Nova Scotia, India was the next of our foreign settlements to have her claims to an Episcopate recognised. Yet slowly and timorously, if not grudgingly, was it conceded to her. A century before had Dean Prideaux argued out England's duty at home; Claudius Buchanan had pleaded from India:[1] but in vain. It was not until the powerful advocacy of William Wilberforce had been heard in the House of Commons, and the official influence of Charles Grant had been felt at

[1] Life of Dean Prideaux. 'Colonial Ecclesiastical Establishment,' by Claudius Buchanan.

the India Board, that a Bishop was granted to that vast settlement, with a Diocese, including not only the whole of the East India Company's possessions in Hindostan, but also the vast continent of Australia and the Cape! For this portentous charge the distinguished Canonist, Thomas Fanshaw Middleton, was selected and consecrated at Lambeth by Archbishop Manners Sutton. On the close of his brief Episcopate, the saintly Reginald Heber, in the same place, and by the same Primate, was consecrated his successor in 1823. Four years after, when he had so soon and so sadly passed away, Archbishop Manners Sutton was again called upon to consecrate another successor, John Thomas James. After a still shorter interval, Archbishop Howley, who, as Bishop of London, had assisted at the Consecration of each of the three previous Bishops, consecrated Matthias Turner, and after another still shorter interval, less than two years, Daniel Wilson was sent forth by the same hands and from the same place to fill the See again so soon vacated.

Meanwhile, in 1824, the West India Islands and Plantations had claimed for themselves an independent Episcopate, and William Coleridge and Christopher Lipscomb were sent forth from Lambeth as Bishops of Barbadoes and Jamaica.

Australia remained for more than twenty years a titular Archdeaconry of Calcutta! But the stream of colonisation had now set in; one settlement after

another had been formed on its eastern and southern coasts, and the demand for at least one Bishop could no longer be withstood. The learned and devoted William Grant Broughton, of the King's School, Canterbury, for a long time Archdeacon of New South Wales, came to England for Consecration, and returned to Australia as her first Bishop.

Thus, as we have seen, the Church of the United States, Canada, the West Indies, India, and Australia, traces in every case her Episcopal origin to the little Chapel of Lambeth Palace.

In the case of Africa alone is this connection wanting.

It was in 1847, when it had been found necessary to resort to a more spacious building for the Consecration of four Colonial Bishops, that Robert Gray, the modern Athanasius of the African Church, sent forth as the first Bishop of Capetown, was consecrated at Westminster Abbey; and thus it has been that the Episcopacy of the "Dark Continent," alone of all England's Colonies, does not trace its origin to Lambeth Chapel: though it, too, has a single connecting link in the person of Bishop Bowen of Sierra Leone.

Now of those who were assembled in this Chapel at the Consecration of Bishops White and Provoost in 1787—that first effort towards a Colonial Episcopate,—the most hopeful, we have said, could

have little conceived, much less have foreseen, whither the step that day taken would lead. After the weary delays and disappointments of the century that had passed, who of them would have believed that, before another century should have run its course, that very Chapel, from which those two pioneers had been sent forth with half-faltering blessing to cut their way through the Western prairies of spiritual darkness and heathenism, should be crowded with Bishops, many of them from the most distant parts of the earth, the spiritual descendants of those two, and others after them, whose original warrant for their high office had been signed and sealed at that altar? It was indeed a goodly sight! One hundred Bishops, of whom more than half represented the distant Colonies, gathered together around their Anglican Patriarch for united communion and prayer and deliberation. They had come from different climes; they had lived under varying systems of political government; they had known in their several Churches a variety of custom, discipline, and forms of worship; yet they knelt here, all held together by that closest and most comprehensive of all bonds—"one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all,"—reflecting the unity of the early Church, "continuing steadfastly in the Apostle's doctrine and fellowship, and in breaking of bread, and in prayers."

Before leaving this scene, let us glance at the

component parts of that assembly. England herself contributed thirty-one, Ireland nine, and Scotland seven Bishops, representing the Home Episcopate; while the United States had responded to the Primate's invitation by sending nineteen of the sixty Bishops already placed over her widely scattered, rapidly developing settlements; British North America (including Canada and Rupert's Land), grown into thirteen Dioceses, had sent ten Bishops; the West Indies and South America, of the nine which now represented her single Bishop of 1824, sent five; India the long neglected had sent three of her slowly acquired eight; Africa, too, bore witness to her still more recent recognition and development by adding five out of her eight; and, remotest of all, Australia and New Zealand, who had not a single Bishop till 1836, now possessed nineteen between them, and had sent six to join in this Conference.

Such a gathering of Bishops was truly representative, so largely Colonial in character, yet wholly Anglican in spirit. If there was here and there the ardour of an Achilles, there was not wanting the wisdom of many a Nestor in the faith; and all, young and old alike, vied with each other in bringing together, as into a common treasury, their own offerings of varied personal experience, local knowledge, and, above all, of individual prayer, eager to carry back to their several spheres of labour the collective judgment of the whole body

—eager, above all, in their desire to maintain the unity of the Faith, and to cultivate "Charity, which is the very bond of peace and of all virtues."

One subsequent and very recent event in this Chapel is so typical of the present character of the English Church that it may not be passed over unnoticed. On Ascension Day in 1881, George Frederick Hose, who had been Archdeacon of Singapore, was consecrated its Bishop; and the consecrating Bishops on that occasion represented not only the mother Church, in the persons of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishops of Gloucester and Bristol, and St Asaph, but almost every branch of the Colonial Church, — Toronto, Ontario, China, Labuan, and Ceylon.[1]

Let, then, the most casual visitor at Lambeth Chapel pause as he treads that floor; and while his eye passes in admiration over those graceful columns, those richly toned windows, that exquisitely decorated roof, let his mind travel to the past of England's Church, and recall the old world associations of the spot—Wickliffe, Warham, Parker, Laud,—and its more modern ones too—White, Provoost, Coleridge, Feild, Middleton, Heber, Wilson, Broughton, Selwyn,—and reflect how hither have been brought for Consecration the choice

[1] Drs Macdougal and Claughton were retired Bishops of the two last-named Sees. Another consecration has since been held in the Chapel; that of the Rev. J. M. Strachan, M.D., for many years a Missionary in Madras, to the Bishopric of Rangoon.

stones wherewith from time to time the Home edifice has been built up; how here, too, as from a centre, has radiated to the remotest regions of the world the light of Evangelical truth sustained and guided by Apostolic order; and how the Church-life of the widespread Anglican Communion, flowing on through its many distinct arteries, finds the heart of its system in Lambeth Chapel.

CHAPTER X.

Miscellaneous Associations.

CONSTANT as were the struggles of the Papacy to lord it over the English Crown, and frequent as were the endeavours of the English Episcopate, while willing to retain its connection with Rome, to enjoy an independence of action, the Anglican Church formed far too important a member of the body of Western Christendom not to receive recognition from successive Popes. Thus we find that—while York and Winchester were frequently made use of as a counterpoise to Canterbury, the one played against the other in the game of politics, in which Holy Fathers delighted—Lambeth was not without its Cardinals. Rome conferred this high honour on six occupants of this See, in the persons of Archbishops Langham, Stafford, Kempe, Bourchier, Morton, and Pole.[1]

In times, too, when learning was so exceptional

[1] Kilwardby is not included in this list, as he resigned the See on being made a Cardinal.

a gift—when the mere power of writing was so rare an accomplishment as to carry with it immunity from capital punishment,—it is not to be wondered at that learning of the highest order, possessed almost exclusively by Ecclesiastics, should secure for them the highest offices of State, as well as seats on the Judicial bench. To such an extent was this carried, that the Temporal Lords and Commons in 1371 protested against all the high offices being held by Clerics; and for a time Laymen were appointed: but from their inexperience or incompetency so much confusion and injury resulted to the State, that it became an absolute necessity to fall back upon Ecclesiastics.[1] Thus it came that—besides Wulfhelm in 924, Thomas à Becket in 1157, and Hubert Walter in 1193—of the sixteen Archbishops who held the See during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, no less than eleven were Lord Chancellors:[2] Walter Reynolds (or Reginald), John Stratford (who was Chancellor

[1] Collier's History, vol. iii. p. 131.

[2] It may be interesting to notice how widely this honour was distributed among the other Sees; according to the 'Chronica Juridicialia' (1685), it seems to have fallen to

	York	11	times
,,	Winchester	10	,,
,,	London	9	,,
,,	Worcester and Ely, each	8	,,
,,	Bath and Wells	6	,,
,,	Durham	5	,,
,,	Chichester, Exeter, and Norwich, each	3	,,
,,	Hereford	2	,,
,,	Lichfield and Rochester, each	1	,,

four times), John Ufford, Simon Langham, Simon Sudbury, William Courtenay, Thomas Arundel (five times), John Stafford, John Kempe (three times), Thomas Bourchier, and John Morton; and passing on into the sixteenth century, his successor, William Warham; who was the last of the Primates to hold that office. Of these, Archbishop Kempe is conspicuous for the vicissitudes of his life; his checkered career has been thus tersely expressed in an hexameter line—

"Bis Primas, ter Præsul, erat bis Cardine functus;"

to which, old Fuller says, was added a second—

"Et dixit legem bis Cancellarius Anglis:"

while Archbishop Bourchier, with a seemingly marvellous pliancy of character and of conscience, which stood him in good stead during the shifting scenes of his Episcopate, was Chancellor to Henry VI., and assisted at the Coronations of Edward IV., Richard III., and Henry VII.

The office of Lord Treasurer, second only in confidential importance to that of Chancellor, was also occasionally filled by Primates, from Dunstan in the tenth century, to Juxon in the seventeenth; Walter Reynolds and John Stafford in the fourteenth, and Thomas Bourchier in the fifteenth, receiving the double honour; while the high judicial post of Chief Justice was twice held by a Primate, in the person of Radulphus in the year 1114, and Hubert Walter eighty years after.

This combination of temporal dignity and power with spiritual functions, so valuable to the best interests of the country in those days of unconstitutional government, gave to the Primacy on many occasions the too often thankless, yet not unimportant, office of mediating between the Crown and the people, of reconciling conflicting interests and restoring harmony; and, though this function has been rarely exercised of late, it has left its unwritten record in the precedence assigned to the Primacy, next after the Princes of the Blood Royal.

The glory of such a position has naturally been reflected on the residence of the Archbishops. Thus it has come to pass, that Lambeth has been from time to time occasionally honoured by visits from Royalty itself. In the year 1345 Edward III. appears to have visited Archbishop Stratford, as it is recorded that John de Montfort, Duke of Brittany, did homage to the King in Lambeth Palace.[1] Stow[2] tells us that Henry Bolingbroke, while staying in his palace at Kennington, accepted the hospitality of Archbishop Bourchier, a few days before his Coronation.

Such Royal visits became more frequent during the sixteenth and following centuries. Henry VIII. deigned to accept the hospitality of Archbishop Warham in 1513, and here he created Charles Somerset, Earl of Worcester.[3] Thirty

[1] Collins's Peerage. [2] Survey of London.
[3] Magna Britannia, Ant. et Nov., vol. vi. p. 258.

years after, he crossed over in his barge to Lambeth Stairs, to give Archbishop Cranmer a friendly warning that Bishop Gardiner was intriguing against him.[1] Queen Mary frequently visited her Cardinal kinsman, Reginald Pole, at the Palace which she had herself furnished for him; while Queen Elizabeth bestowed on her old friend Matthew Parker many similar marks of favour, though her repugnance to the novelty of a married priesthood made her barely courteous to the Archbishop's wife. Grindal soon fell into disfavour, and was never honoured by a visit from the Queen; but on Whitgift's succeeding, she resumed her visits to Lambeth, and indeed extended them occasionally over a period of two or three days at a time,[2] and James I. visited him on his deathbed. Charles I. also honoured Lambeth with his presence on a very different occasion, when, in 1637, he gave away Lady Mary Villiers, the only daughter of his favourite, the first Duke of Buckingham, to his own kinsman, James Stuart, Duke of Lennox.[3]

In 1694, Mary, the wife of William III., once held a long conference here with Archbishop Tillotson on grave matters of State.[4]

[1] Morice's Anecdotes of Archbishop Cranmer (published by the Camden Society), p. 252.

[2] Progresses of Queen Elizabeth, edited by J. Nichols.

[3] Laud's Diary, p. 54. State Papers, Domestic Series (1637), p. 355.

[4] Records of nearly all these Royal visits may also be found in Parish Vestry-books in the form of payments made to the bell-ringers.

One historic interview, though not with Royalty, has left its memorial here. Lord Clarendon, then Mr Edward Hyde, bent on making one great effort to check the onward course of Archbishop Laud, by which, as he foresaw, the Primate would make shipwreck of himself and perhaps of the Church, and finding him one morning walking alone in the garden, used every argument he could command to dissuade him from a course with which, as he assured the Primate, "the people were universally discontented, and (which troubled him most) that every one spoke extreme ill of his Grace as the cause of all that was amiss."[1] But it was in vain; Laud, in the depth of his convictions and his tenacity of purpose, based on a natural sternness and severity of disposition, showed that he was resolved to do all that he thought right, and if needs be to suffer all; and to this he adhered to the bitter end. The walk has since retained the name of "Clarendon's Walk."

Nor must the presence of Royalty in far other guise at the gateway of Lambeth Palace be passed over without notice. Here, on the night of December 9, 1688, did Mary of Modena, the beautiful and noble but unfortunate spouse of James II., appear disguised as an Italian washerwoman, carrying under her arm, wrapped up to resemble a bundle of linen, her babe of six months old, the

[1] Life of Lord Clarendon (Oxford ed. 1843), pp. 931, 932.

Prince of Wales, the future "Pretender." As she was flying from Whitehall for the coast, on the eve of the King's own flight, she had on that night of terrific wind and rain crossed the swollen and troubled waters of the Thames, from the Horseferry to Lambeth Stairs, in a small ferry-boat, as, says her chronicler (who was also her companion on the occasion), "with only one frail plank between her and eternity." She expected to find a coach to convey her to Gravesend, but no coach was ready; and she had to nestle with her child under the friendly shelter of the angle between Morton's Gateway and the Church Tower, until the coach was prepared and brought round from the neighbouring hostelry of the "Swan," and she was at length, and not without great risk, able to escape.[1]

Our present gracious Queen has also been a visitor at Lambeth, to Archbishops Howley, Sumner, and Longley, and the Prince of Wales to the late Archbishop Tait. Thus has Lambeth seen not only Plantagenet and Tudor and Stuart Kings, but also England's Queens, Mary I., Elizabeth, Mary II., Anne, and Victoria, as her guests; Anne Boleyn a prisoner, and Mary of Modena a fugitive.

But this exalted position, while it attracted to the occupants of Lambeth Palace such marks of Royal trust and favour, did not fail to draw down

[1] Miss Strickland's Queens of England, vol. vi. p. 262; Macaulay's History of England, vol. ii. p. 550.

upon them more than once the violently expressed disfavour of an enraged populace. An early exhibition of this feeling has been mentioned when the inhabitants of St Bartholomew's, Smithfield, indignant at the outrage perpetrated by Archbishop Boniface upon their Prior, followed him up to the very walls of his Palace, and committed great devastation upon it.[1] Again, a century after (A.D. 1381) the rebels who had taken part in Wat Tyler's insurrection, and in the brutal murder of the good and gentle Simon Sudbury on Tower Hill, did not rest until, in the flood of their success and slaughter, they had ransacked his Palace, and then setting fire to it, wantonly destroyed all the valuables they could lay hands on.

For the next 260 years the Palace escaped any similar visitation; but in 1641 it narrowly escaped being again plundered. The unfortunate Laud was then at the height of his unpopularity. To his influence with the King was ascribed every obnoxious act into which the misguided Charles was led; and on him was concentrated the odium of every class; among others, that of the "Apprentices" of London. On the 9th of May of that year, a few days after Lord Strafford had been beheaded, a large placard was posted on the Old 'Change,[2] calling upon the Apprentices to sack the

[1] *Supra*, p. 203.

[2] Laud's Diary, p. 58; Johnson's Fairfax Correspondence, Charles I., p. 114. Some writers say the mob numbered as many as thousands.

Archbishop's residence. Within eight-and-forty hours the plan was carried out. Some 500 of them stood before the gate bent on destruction; but Laud, forewarned, was forearmed: "I had notice," he writes in his Diary, "and strengthened the house as well as I could, and, God be blessed, I had no harm."

But it was during the Lord George Gordon Riots in 1780, that Lambeth Palace was in the most imminent danger, though it then held, not a stern hated Laud, but a gentle popular Cornwallis. Then, as before, "No Popery" served as the war-cry; and under the exciting harangues of that infatuated, if not insane nobleman, a mob of some thousands for days kept London in an uproar, wreaking their fury on the public buildings and prisons, and also on the Episcopal residences, and, of course, foremost among them, on Lambeth Palace; which was only saved from being sacked by the timely arrival of a body of troops. The Archbishop and his family with difficulty effected their escape across the river.

It were a grave omission to pass over unnoticed the "Lambeth fig-trees." Two of extraordinary size, supposed to have been planted by Cardinal Pole, formerly stood near the east end of the old garden front: they have long ago died, or been destroyed in the alterations of 1829; but three or four thriving offshoots, now grown into venerable trees, may still be seen basking on the sunny side

of the Great Hall, keeping alive the tradition of their origin.

It only remains to close this attempt to collect together records of events connected with this little known but nobly historic centre of the ecclesiastical life of England by naming those among its fifty occupants who have passed away within its walls since it became the official residence of the Primates.

Though Parker's was the first, and has remained the only, burial within the Chapel, several of the Archbishops have closed their lives in the Palace. First of those whose deaths are recorded as having taken place here was Thomas Bradwardine, in 1349; next in order came—

William Wittlesey, in 1374.
John Kempe, in 1453.
Henry Dene, in 1502.
Cardinal Pole, in 1558 (aged 58).
Matthew Parker, in 1570 (72).
John Whitgift, in 1603 (73).
Richard Bancroft, in 1610 (67).
William Juxon, in 1663 (81).
Gilbert Sheldon, in 1677 (80).
John Tillotson, in 1694 (65).
Thomas Tenison, in 1715 (97).
William Wake, in 1736 (79).
John Potter, in 1737 (75).
Thomas Secker, in 1768 (75).
Frederick Cornwallis, in 1783 (70).

John Moore, in 1805 (74).
Charles Manners Sutton, in 1828 (73).
William Howley, in 1848 (81).

Such is Lambeth Palace; such are among the richest and brightest, and withal the saddest, associations interwoven with its checkered history.

To Canterbury must be assigned the honour of possessing the "plain stone *cathedra*" of unquestioned[1] historic fame, the Patriarchal Chair from which Augustine addressed the small body of attendant priests who had accompanied, or followed him, from Rome. From the same chair,[2] nearly thirteen centuries after, his ninetieth successor in the Primacy, Archbishop Tait, welcomed on St Peter's Day, 1878, between thirty and forty representative bishops of the Anglican Communion, not of Britain alone, but of her daughter Churches throughout the world.

But if Canterbury may thus claim to have been the cradle of Anglo-Saxon Christianity, Lambeth has for the last 700 years been the home and the support of its maturer growth. Never, perhaps, has the grand Catholicity of the Anglican Communion been more clearly portrayed than when Archbishop Tait in his third Diocesan Charge

[1] Gervase, the Canterbury monk, mentions it as in constant use in his day.

[2] Catharine and Craufurd Tait, pp. 598, 599.

pointed out its present position in Christendom,—how in the United States — in Canada and the regions beyond—in the Indian empire—in China and Japan—in Australia and New Zealand—in Southern Africa—and in the scattered isles of the Pacific — were branches of the Anglo-Catholic Church, all looking to England as their mother, and to Lambeth as the centre of their organic life; and still further, how, by the manifestation of a truly Evangelising spirit, the Church of England is being regarded as a rallying-point for all those great National Churches or scattered communities —Armenian, Syrian, Chaldean, Coptic, and Nestorian—which, while repudiating the dictation and rejecting the dogmas of Rome, yet maintaining the Ancient Apostolic Order, turn ever to England, and therefore to Lambeth, for sympathy and help.[1]

The picture here presented to the mind's eye recalls the memorable words of Urban II. when he welcomed the holy Anselm to Rome as "alterius orbis Patriarcha"[2]—words which, if uttered

[1] 'The Church of the Future,' being the third Diocesan Charge of Archbishop Tait (1880), pp. 2-11.

[2] Eadmeri Vita S. Anselmi (ed. G. Gerberon, 1675), vol. ii. p. 20. The entire passage runs thus: "Cum illum utpote hominem cunctis liberalium artium disciplinis nutritum pro magistro teneamus, et quasi comparem, vel ut alterius orbis Apostolicum et Patriarcham jure venerandum teneamus." The more familiar quotation, "alterius orbis Papam," occurs in William of Malmesbury's History, and is attributed by him to Urban, in the sensational scene at the Council of Bari, when the Pope commanded that the Chair of the Archbishop of Canterbury should be brought from its hitherto lowly place into close proximity with his own Throne; but Eadmer was Anselm's companion on the occasion, and the other only a Chronicler from hearsay.

in the *hyperbole* of language not unnatural on such an occasion in the mouth of the elated and enthusiastic Pope, greeting so bold and zealous a champion of the Church, have assumed somewhat of a prophetic character, and attained a fulfilment he little meant, or dreamed of, amply justifying the language of Anselm's successor in the See, after a lapse of eight centuries, when he said in the Charge already alluded to,—"Every year Lambeth is becoming more and more the centre to which the whole Anglican Communion directly looks; and that Communion seems to me to be more and more every year becoming itself the centre for all the Churches of Christendom which protest against Roman usurpation."

Mediæval Life among the Old Palaces of the Primacy.[1]

THE journey from Lambeth to Canterbury, now a matter of some two hours' easy travelling by railway, was four centuries ago an undertaking of a week; such at least appears to have been the stately progress which befitted the dignity and convenience of a Lord Cardinal Archbishop. We are told that when Cardinal Morton went, in 1486, to be "enthronised," and to receive the *pallium*, he was six days on the road, breaking his journey first at Croydon, then at Knole, at Maidstone, at Charing, and at Chartham, where he slept the Saturday night; making his public entry into Canterbury on the Sunday morning. At each place the gates of a stately manor-house opened to receive their feudal lord, and his princely retinue: for it is said he travelled "greatly accompanied."[2]

[1] In these subsequent pages the author has not felt it necessary to give a reference for every statement, as in the History of Lambeth Palace. He would here mention that his principal authorities have been, besides the Lambeth Registers and MSS., Camden's Britannia, Lambarde's Perambulations in Kent, Philipott's Villare Cantianum, Hasted's History of Kent, Hook's Lives of the Archbishops, Bibliotheca Topographia Britannica, Archæologia Cantiana, the Gentleman's Magazine, Calendar of State Papers, &c.

[2] The MS. referred to is to be found under the misguiding title, "The Christening of Prince Arthur," &c., Cottonian MSS., n. Julius B. 12 f. 24 b., in the British Museum. In the original it runs thus: "After Christemas

Of the full meaning of the expression "greatly accompanied" we can form but a very imperfect idea. The state and costliness of such a journey seems incomprehensible to a generation who can now accomplish it with ample dignity and comfort at the cost of a few shillings. In those days it would have fallen little short of the magnificence of a Royal Progress in pomp and splendour. For not only would a Becket make his entry into Canterbury with his two hundred knights, each having his squire and body of retainers; or a Peckham marching into his cathedral city for enthronisation "in a very magnificent manner," in the presence of King Edward I. himself, and a goodly array of prelates and nobles; or a half-Royal Arundel, "inthronized with much magnificence" in the presence of Richard II.; but even Whitgift, a Primate of far less pride of character and love of display, would, besides his own personal retainers and attendants, above 200 in number, be escorted thither by a cavalcade of from 800 to 1000 horse! Such, without the royalty, was probably the scene at the close of each stage of the memorable journey of Cardinal Morton; such the meaning of the expression "greatly accompanied."

Again, another feature of such a journey as this must not be lost sight of, for it will give some insight into the

the Mooste Reverende Fader in God, the Lord John Morton was on a Sonday the —— day Janyver entrononizede (*sic*) at Cantebury, greatly accompanyde, wth lordes espirituels and tempels, as it aperathe more at large in a book made of the same fest (*sic*). And as I understande he, by his journey towards his thrononization, after his licence of the King at Lambeth, and gretely accompanyed, roode first to Croyden, and from thence to Knowle, from thence to Maydestone, from thence to Charing, and from thence to Chartham, where he lay the Saturday at night, and on the Soneday when he entrede Cawntrebury and all the belles of the citie were rong, he alight, and went on his fete." This document is also printed, but with some slight inaccuracies in the spelling, in Leland's Ant. Collect., vol. iv. p. 207.

social life of the magnates of that period. Rents were not then paid in coin, but, like tithes within our own memory, *in kind.* Nowadays any such exceptional gathering proves a harvest-time for the traders or tenants, by the stimulus it gives to the circulating medium, and is a welcomed event as marking a red-letter day in a town or district; but very different was its probable effect at a country manor-house even four centuries ago, when each estate would have to bear the burden of provisioning a multitude—a horde of hungry attendants. The charges of the regular establishment, however extensive might be met with ease, and the balance of rent due paid in or credited to the lord of the manor in his rent-roll; but the exhausting drain which such an invasion of the Philistines would involve, might well make the tenants wish that, notwithstanding all the honour and dignity they conferred, such visits of their feudal lord might be "few and far between." On this account, doubtless, Cardinal Morton's progress was long remembered among the manors of Kent through which he passed.

Nor was it merely to eat out the rents of the several manors, that in those days Primates travelled from one to another so greatly accompanied. The Lambeth Registers furnish a clue to another and more practical reason for a Primate's personal retinue being so numerous, and give an interesting illustration of the official character and the State-life of those days. Not merely had they Ecclesiastical functions to perform, such as Consecrations, Ordinations, and Confirmations, &c., but many and varied were the semi-secular duties which then attached to their office: these were, wills to be proved in their presence, estates to be administered to, marriage licences to be granted, commissions and dispensations to be issued,—duties long since delegated to officials sta-

tioned in their several courts and departments, but then personally superintended by the Primates themselves; and therefore it was for the public convenience, perhaps as much as to gratify any personal pride or love of pomp, that they moved from place to place like Judges of Assize, and were of necessity attended by an array of officers.[1]

In Morton's journey five Manor-houses have been mentioned. Of these only four really belonged to the Primacy, that at Chartham being the property of the Monastery of Christ Church, Canterbury, and placed at the disposal of the Cardinal Archbishop as a convenient halting-place from its proximity to Canterbury. But these four did not constitute one quarter of the total number of lordly residences which at that time belonged to the See of Canterbury. In Kent alone there were thirteen: Aldington, Bishopsbourne (not till a later period exchanged for Bekesbourne), Canterbury, Charing, Forde, Gillingham, Knole, Lyminge, Maidstone, Otford, Saltwood, Teynham, and Wrotham; three in Sussex—at Mayfield, Slindon, and West Tarring; and in Surrey three more —Mortlake, Croydon, and, noblest of all, Lambeth. Besides these there was a still larger number of Manors, the revenues of which went to make up what was in those

[1] This official necessity would seem to have become grievously abused. So long as the Primates travelled at their own expense, or among their own manor-houses, all was well; but it was far otherwise when on some visitation they swooped down upon a remote country town. To such excess had this taste for lordly retinues been carried, that "the procuration of victuals and provinder" became so burdensome an impost as to call forth several ecclesiastical injunctions during the thirteenth century; under the most memorable of which, that of Othobon, it was strictly forbidden to an Archbishop to "visit" with more than 50 horses and men, or a Bishop with more than 20 or 30, while an Archdeacon could only bring with him 5 or 6, and a Rural Dean was restricted to 2. Eventually, this charge was converted into a composition in money; and is still claimed under the old term "procurations."

days regarded as the princely income of the Archbishops; but they were not adorned (or, as some of the Archbishops thought, burdened) with costly residences, and therefore will not be included in our present account.

Of those mentioned above, Lambeth alone remains to the See. Knole retains somewhat of its baronial character, but has long since passed into lay hands. Maidstone is still sufficiently preserved to be habitable. All the rest have been more or less abandoned to decay.

It is not as a mere matter of dry antiquarian research, but rather as a subject worthy of careful investigation on account of its political and social importance and interest, that we essay to trace out, however briefly, and at best in little more than outline, the history of each of these lordly mansions; to note how the piety of monarchs and nobles originally dedicated them to the Church's use; how each was in turn indebted for its beauty and its strength to one or other of the successive Primates, whose own illustrious career has associated it with the nation's history; and how all, save only one, have passed away into other hands, to enrich courtiers, nobles, or Court minions; and, carrying with them, as some think, the curse of sacrilege, have left behind in so many cases nothing but a ruin, or only a name.

It may save confusion and occasional repetition if at the outset we note one or two points for preliminary explanation.

First, custom has assigned to an episcopal residence, wherever it may be, the name of PALACE: but the term was not always so applied; this is in fact quite a modern use of it. Originally the Palace of a Bishop was the residence attached to his Cathedral city; other residences he might have at various distances, but they were distinguished by their several characteristics; they were

called Castles, or Manor-houses, or, in common parlance, Houses.[1]

But to avoid any appearance of pedantry, the term Palace shall be used here in its modern and wider acceptation, as including all the ancient residences, of whatever character, belonging to the See.

Secondly, a change had taken place in the tenure of the Church property attached to Canterbury. Before the Norman Lanfranc had been appointed to the Primacy by the Conqueror, all gifts, whether of manors or other forms of endowment, whether from kings or subjects, had been conferred on the conventual body known as "the Priory of Christ Church," which comprised the Monks and the Archbishop as their Abbot, and were held by them conjointly, as common property, and for common use. Lanfranc, however, seeing the defectiveness and inconvenience of such an arrangement, introduced the foreign system with which he had been familiar as Abbot of Caen in Normandy; he divided all the property of the conventual body, assigning one moiety to the See, and the other to the monks, who thenceforth elected a Prior of their own, and constituted a Chapter independent of the Archbishop. This partition must have taken effect at once, for the distinction is carefully drawn even in Domesday Book (which was compiled only a few years after); in it the manors held by the Archbishop, *in dominio* (*en demesne*), are grouped under a separate head from those retained by the Priory, which are designated as belonging to "the Monks of the Archbishop—*i.e.*, the Priory of Christ Church," in contradistinction to the Abbey of St Augustine's, Canterbury.

[1] Lambeth itself, with all its palatial grandeur, is an instance of the last-named class. Down to the later years of the eighteenth century it was always known as Lambeth House: its designation of Lambeth Palace is of very recent date. See p. 1, n.

Although this was nothing more than a voluntary arrangement between the Archbishop and the Monastery, sanctioned by the King, and had no real legal force, yet for all practical purposes it was regarded as valid; for nearly five centuries the respective manors remained perfectly distinct and independent. The transfer of all real estate, and even of any appointment to a permanent office made by the Archbishops, had to be confirmed by the Chapter. So on the transfer of manors belonging to the See, which Cranmer made to Henry VIII., the fact of the original joint character of the tenure of the Conventual property rendered it necessary that in each case the surrender of a manor by the Archbishop should be confirmed by the Chapter; and this accounts for the fact that on every deed of transfer (of which several are extant) there appears the seal of the Dean and Chapter by the side of that of the Archbishop.

We now proceed to trace the histories of the several Palaces.

That of CANTERBURY naturally stands first on the list; for if not actually the earliest, it was for many centuries the most important of those belonging to the See. To it the title of *Palace* belongs in its strictest sense. It was originally the royal residence of Ethelbert, who on his conversion in 597, bestowed it on Augustine, and himself retired to a country Palace at Reculver. Canterbury already possessed a Church, and tradition assigns the honour of building it, though probably little more than a wooden, or still more rude wattled building, to Lucius, who was reputed to have been the first Christian King in Britain, and to have lived in the latter part of the second century. But the honour of conferring a Palace on the See doubtless belongs to the Royal con-

vert, Ethelbert. The first mention of such a residence of the Archbishops at Canterbury occurs in the account given by the Venerable Bede of a great fire which devastated the city and threatened "the Bishop's house," to which the terrified citizens had fled to escape from the flames. He tells how Mellitus, the second from Augustine (A.D. 619-624), though at the time crippled with gout, demanded to be carried to the place where the flames were the most fierce, and there, by the fervour of his prayers, arrested their course and saved his Palace from destruction.

It is next alluded to when Offa, king of Mercia, had invaded Kent, and after his great victory at Otford (A.D. 773), resolved to raise his Mercian See of Lichfield to an equality with, if not a superiority over, that of Canterbury. Cenulphe, however, his successor, retrieved the wrong Offa had designed, and of his own accord restored the Metropolitical dignity to Canterbury, on the ground (as he says in a letter to Pope Leo III., quoted by William of Malmesbury) "that in this city rested the body of him who planted the truth of the Christian faith in these parts." But in the beginning of the eleventh century a dire calamity befell the city, involving doubtless the Palace as well as the Cathedral in its consequences. The Danes having landed at Sandwich, advanced upon Canterbury (A.D. 1011), and laid siege to it; for twenty days did the brave old Archbishop Alphege offer a chivalrous resistance; and nothing but treachery from within placed him and his gallant band of defenders in the hands of the enemy, who made him prisoner, and shortly after butchered him in a drunken debauch. Ethelnoth, the next but one in succession to Alphege, encouraged by the munificent sympathy of Canute, began to repair some of the havoc wantonly perpetrated by the Danes; but

within thirty years (A.D. 1067) a destructive fire again laid Cathedral and Palace in ruins.

Here the energy of Lanfranc found worthy scope. Under him the Cathedral was repaired, and the monastic buildings rebuilt and greatly enlarged; and then—when he had provided for the Services of the Sanctuary and the accommodation of the brethren of the Monastery—he began to provide for his own requirements: the Palace was the last to be taken in hand; and it would appear to have been only partially completed in his time, for important additions to it are accredited to his successor, Hubert Walter, and still more to Stephen Langton. To the latter is ascribed the erection of what was in after years the glory of the building, "the Great Hall" (of which more hereafter). Yet with the Palace as Lanfranc left it is associated one of the most memorable events in the history of the English Church and nation.

It was in this Palace that Thomas à Becket was wont to make his lodgment when visiting his Metropolitical city; it was in "the hall of his Palace at Canterbury" that he was sitting peacefully surrounded by his personal attendants, when "the four knights"—Reginald Fitzurse, Hugh de Moreville, William de Tracy, and Richard de Bret—thrust themselves into his presence, and with insults and threats aroused the spirit of the haughty prelate. His companions saw the danger to which his rash defiance was exposing him, and, seizing the opportunity of the withdrawal of the knights for their armour, hurried, almost carried, Becket out of the hall, through the private door leading into the cloisters which connected the Palace with the Cathedral,[1] hoping to find sanctuary there; but

[1] A door of the fifteenth century still marks the spot, and recent exploration has brought to light on the opposite side of the wall the traces of the old Norman doorway, through which the Archbishop and his party must have passed.

the knights, furious in their revenge, maddened too by his attempt to escape from them, hastened after him, and overtaking him, cut him down as he was standing before the altar of St Benedict [1]—a spot which to this day retains an "unwritten record" of that bloody deed of Christmas-tide 1170, in the traditional name of "The Martyrdom."

Soon, however, did the tide of feeling and of public opinion turn; and nowhere sooner or more poignantly than in the breast of the unhappy king himself. Awe-struck at the prompt and appalling construction put on his rash language about the "turbulent priest,"—a victim, perhaps, of superstitious dread rather than of remorse,—he secluded himself for days without food, and gave himself up to self-reproach. Then followed a formal submission to the Pope to avert a threatened Interdict; and a public penance at Avranches to appease the indignation of Louis VII. of France and his clergy: but neither sufficed to bring back peace and a sense of security to Henry's mind; while, moreover, home troubles were being added to foreign anxieties. A further and still more abject humiliation was to be undergone, and in July 1174 the king performed that public penance which is without its parallel in the world's history,—far exceeding that imposed on the Emperor Theodosius by St Ambrose. A pilgrimage barefooted, and in sackcloth,—a humble solicitation from Becket's successor for permission to approach the tomb,—a night spent in prayer on the hard stones of the dark crypt,—a scourging at the hands of the monks whose Sanctuary had been violated,—this was submitted to, and then, and not till then, Henry II. was at peace with the Church, and it may be hoped with his conscience.

[1] The incidents of this scene of blood are so entirely a part of England's history, and have been so often and so fully described, especially in 'Stanley's Memorials of Canterbury,' that there is no necessity, even if space permitted, for entering into them at any greater length.

Four years after the king was again at Canterbury, accompanied by his royal brother Louis of France, the bearer of costly offerings at the tomb of him who had already come to be called "St Thomas the Martyr."

Now the humble grave in the under-croft was deemed altogether unfitting for such "a Saint." Penance and piety soon amassed a hoard sufficient to erect a Shrine more worthy of his memory; and in the fiftieth year after Becket's death (A.D. 1220), his remains were translated with great pomp and ceremonial from the lowly crypt to the costly shrine above. Stephen Langton was now Primate, a kindred spirit and no unworthy successor to Becket; a man as brave and fearless, but wiser and more prudent; and in him England saw restored harmony between Church and Crown. For by Langton's side stood England's boy-king, Henry III., the grandson of him who had been held responsible for Becket's death—the son of him who had found in Langton the most powerful and successful opponent of his reckless rule; here too, in token of restored amity with Rome, stood Pandulph the Pope's Legate; while peace and friendliness with France was attested by the Primate Archbishop of Rheims, accompanied by many a Bishop and Abbot of France; added to these were nearly the whole Episcopate of the Province of Canterbury. All were gathered together to do honour to the man whose memory they all revered as having stood forward, even to the death, as the champion of what he believed to be the Church's rights.

From the Shrine we return to the Palace, to trace what seems to be an interesting connection between the two; for the increasing fame of the one would naturally have its effect upon the other. Archbishop Hubert Walter had, some thirty years after Becket's death, made con-

siderable additions to what Lanfranc had erected, until it grew into what was described by a contemporary, "a large, fair, and magnificent pile of building." Yet the wide-spreading fame of the Martyr's Shrine was drawing hither to it a stream of pilgrims, and of wealth. Nobles, princes, and even monarchs, might be often seen among its votaries; and for them the old Hall could afford but scant accommodation. To offer worthy reception to such visitors, Langton enlarged or built anew "the Great Hall," which has ever since been associated with his name.[1]

And before the close of that century the value of this addition was realised. In the year 1299, Edward I., the "greatest of Plantagenets" (who had previously offered at Becket's shrine the golden Crown of Scotland), after his marriage with Margaret of France in the Cathedral, was most royally entertained in "the Great Hall of the Palace," by the hospitable Primate, Robert of Winchelsea. A similar hospitality was shown a few years after to two Royal votaries at Becket's shrine—Isabella the wife of Edward II., and John, king of France, at that time a captive.

Then follows a century or more during which such hospitality would seem to have been in abeyance, and the Palace generally left to neglect and decay; for among the Canterbury Records[2] is a letter from Prior Robert Hathbrand to Archbishop Stratford, in the year 1344,

[1] Though his immediate successors would seem to have denied him the monopoly of the honour; for he built in a style so costly as to entail a heavy debt on them, of which Boniface, the third after him, complained grievously, having to pay no less a sum than £14,500 to clear off the debt with which Langton's prodigality here and elsewhere had burdened the See.

[2] For information regarding this unpublished MS., and for much general local information, the author is indebted to A. Brigstocke Sheppard, Esq., of Canterbury.

conveying a report from the Surveyor, representing that broken windows and ruined walls had come to be the leading characteristics of the Palace on which Lanfranc and Langton had bestowed so much care and expended so much wealth. The Great Hall, it says, — *Domus Magna*, called "the Hall of St Thomas,"—the kitchen too, and nearly all the apartments, had fallen into so dilapidated a condition as to be past repair, and to require rebuilding. By whom the work of rebuilding was actually carried out there is no record to show: but probably to Archbishop Courtenay, the restorer of so many manor-houses, or to the liberal but ill-fated Sudbury, the credit of this work is due; for in the portions of the Great Hall which still remain are traces of rich decorated ornament which would assign it to that period.

With the Primacy of Stafford (1443-1452) the hospitality of the Palace appears to have revived, for he received the pious Henry VI. as his guest in 1451, on the occasion of his making a pilgrimage to the Shrine; and a similar honour was conferred by Edward IV. on Cardinal Bourchier,—a visit which was commemorated by the gift of a window containing an elaborate representation of the Martyrdom, fragments of which still remain, having somehow escaped the iconoclastic fanaticism of the Puritans.

One banquet held here was deemed by chroniclers worthy of special mention; it was that given by Warham after his enthronisation in 1504, on which occasion no less a noble than Edward, Duke of Buckingham, appeared as *Seneschallus* of the Primate's household, the tenure of service on which he held his feudal lands. But probably a still grander scene was witnessed here when, fifteen years after, he received the then youthful and popular Henry VIII. as his guest, with Catherine of Aragon and Charles V. of Germany; on which memorable occasion

the festivities were brought to a close with a ball in the Great Hall.

But many were the alternations of fortune this Palace experienced ; a fatality which seemed to cling to it to the last. Lanfranc had built it ; his immediate successors neglected it, and suffered it to fall into decay ; Baldwin planned its restoration, but the interference and opposition of the monks drove him (as also Hugh Walter, his successor) from Canterbury, to lay the foundation of what was to prove its grander and more permanent rival at Lambeth. Langton largely adorned it, and, with Winchelsea, restored the honours of the Metropolitical Palace ; Morton, too, who added buildings everywhere, "builded also (as Leland says) at the Palace at Canterbury." Warham contemplated yet further and grander additions and adornments ; but a petty dispute of the citizens about the boundaries of his land drove him in wounded dignity and disgust to Otford, where he expended the thousands with which he had designed to give still greater grandeur to his Canterbury Palace, and to make it a lasting monument of his great wealth and glory. It then fell again into decay ; and worse still, in his successor's time, it was again reduced almost to a ruin by a devastating fire, in which Strype somewhat casually mentions that the brother-in-law of Cranmer and others perished in the flames.

How it chanced to escape the covetous grasp of Henry VIII. seems strange. Perhaps its ruined state, or its proximity to the Cathedral, made it worthless or undesirable ; and so it was left to the See.

When Parker succeeded to the Primacy he found the Palace "lying in great decay, partly by fire, and partly by time," and calling to mind its past history, its former magnificence its Royal visits, its princely banquets, its

profuse hospitality, he resolved to give back to it some part at least of its departed grandeur, and undertook its restoration, specially recording that the money he thus spent was "instead of any splendid feast at his enthronisation." Not that Parker's Primacy was marked by any lack of hospitality; for, on the contrary, it may be said to have in this respect surpassed those of most of his predecessors. The Great Hall which he had rebuilt was, according to Strype, "the scene of many magnifical solemnities and feasts." At his table were gathered at one time judges and lawyers, at another citizens and townsmen, Prelates of the Northern as well as those of the Southern Province—indeed his banquets were more frequent and more general in character; and they had one distinctive feature, that ladies were among his guests. But one eclipsed all, perhaps even those of Warham, in splendour and dignity, when on September 7, 1578, on the anniversary of her own birthday, Queen Elizabeth honoured him with her company, attended by her high officers of State, and by her distinguished visitor Cardinal de Retz. In that banquet the glory of Canterbury Palace seemed to culminate—and then to wane and pass away.

In the dark days that followed during the Cromwellian period, this Palace, like everything else belonging to the Church, suffered grievously; but, strange to say, the Great Hall, which had been the scene of so much grandeur, to use the language of Gostling in his 'Walks in and about Canterbury,' "escaped the fury of the saints; for when they had killed the right owner, and taken possession of his spoils, their zeal for destroying cooled by degrees, and they had wit enough to find out that good houses were of more value than the rubbish of them; and it may perhaps (he continues) divert my reader to hear that he to whose

share this fell used to date his letters from *my Palace at Canterbury*."

Of this building, with a history so closely interwoven with some of the most stirring and most momentous events of the English Church and nation, little now remains. An ugly, modern, red-brick house in Palace Street is still pointed out, almost in irony, as "the Palace," where for many years the Chapter Surveyor used to live, and which is now converted into additional dormitories for the scholars of the King's School. But it is in the fragments of buildings nearer the Cathedral itself, and contiguous to the north-west corner of the Cloisters, that traces may be detected of the real time-honoured residence of the Primates. Here the clearing away of the ruins and rubbish of past generations has quite recently brought to light some most interesting remains of early building: an arch of Norman work tells no doubt of Lanfranc's original palace; a handsome bay-window and gable apparently belonging to Morton's additions; while what little has been preserved of heraldic evidence points with appropriate significance to the last efforts at restoration, in the armorial bearings and motto of Parker, and preach the grave lesson of human instability in the words of his motto, "Sic transit mundus et concupiscentia ejus."

Passing due southward from Canterbury along the old Roman road, *Via Limenæa*, now known as Stone Street, as we approach the coast we come upon a group of almost contiguous Manors, formerly belonging to the See, which possess a special interest as representing in a striking manner the social and political position of the Archbishops during the thirteenth and two following centuries; a Manor-house and Park at Lyminge, a Castle at Saltwood, and a Park and Chase at Aldington, betoken

respectively the territorial jurisdiction, the political dangers, and the social dignity which in those feudal times attached to the Primacy.

Of these three LYMINGE on every ground takes precedence; it was the earliest in possession of the See, and it was the most replete with historical incidents. It does not fall within our province to trace back that history to its earliest days; it is enough to note in passing that even in the days of the Roman occupation Lyminge was a position of considerable importance, and was selected for a Royal residence by early Saxon kings. Here may still be traced the lines of what once formed a *Basilica* or a *Curia*, the centre doubtless of a range of buildings which in time became considerable enough to entitle it to be designated by Hugo Candidus, the old historian monk of Peterborough, *Villa Maxima de Lyminge;* but our interest in the place hardly dates back earlier than the eleventh century, when it first became connected with the Church.

How one might linger here, did time and space permit, among the earlier memories of the spot!—picturing it as the occasional abode of the yet heathen Saxon king Ethelbert, and Bertha, his Christian wife, the child of France who would find in Lyminge a midway resting-place between her home at Canterbury or Reculver and her native shores; still more as the scene, probably of the marriage, certainly of the many years of pious seclusion, and of the death, in 647, of their saintly daughter, Ethelburga, of whose piety the whole place is redolent: here one could imagine her retired in her youthful widowhood, founding first a Nunnery, of which she was herself the first Abbess, and then a Benedictine Monastery hard by; and afterwards erecting a Church, the foundations of which may still be traced. Passing on to the days of Athelstane, Dunstan, whilom Monk and Abbot of Glastonbury, now

Archbishop (A.D. 960), appears on the scene, absorbing all the lesser Conventual bodies into the greater Monasteries; and thus the wealthy endowments of Lyminge became merged into those of Christ Church, Canterbury.[1]

A century later, and Lanfranc, having divided the possessions of the Monastery, and recognising the claims of Lyminge, which fell to his share, built here a Church larger and more suited to the times, and to the sanctity of the spot; and though he bore away the relics of the sainted foundress to what he deemed a more honourable tomb in his own new Cathedral, perpetuated her memory in the scene of her pious labours by uniting her name to that of the Virgin in the dedication of his Church of St Mary and St Ethelburga. Here, too, in the foundations are to be seen fragments of Roman, perhaps Christian-Roman work, Roman cement still incrusting massive blocks of stone, and in the upper walls wide joints, irregular herring-bone work, and rude bonding courses of Roman bricks and flat stones, showing the hand of the Saxon mason, under the direction of the Norman Lanfranc, imitating the Roman work of the earlier building which stood on this site. And here may be traced, too, worthy additions made four centuries after by Cardinals Bourchier and Morton.

But our special concern lies with the old Manor-house, rather than the Monastery or the Church. And here one deplores the absence of written evidence as to its history, while there is such abundance, even descending to the minutest details, in Records, Charters, and Grants, to illustrate the history of the religious buildings. In treating of the Manor-house, then, all is at best conjecture; of its

[1] All this is fully and graphically told by the present learned Rector of Lyminge, the Rev. Canon J. C. Jenkins, in his 'Acta in Limenæa,' the history of the Basilican and Conventual Church of St Mary and St Æadburgh in Lyminge, and also in papers contributed to the early volumes of *Archæologia Cantiana.*

date, its shape, or proportions, nothing is on record; it was probably one of the stone Manor-houses built by Lanfranc, though of its exact site nothing can be traced: a few mounds, almost terraces, and the name of one field, "Court-Lodge Green," alone point to its probable position; the careful explorations made by its learned and indefatigable Rector have, however, brought to light some points of transcendent interest in connection with this old residence of the Primates. Besides the foundations of what was no doubt the private Chapel, and also the small tomb in which originally rested the bones of Ethelburga, the "*Aula*" or "*Camera de Lyminge*" has been discovered; the Court at which Peckham inaugurated his grand visitation of his Diocese, after so many years of laxness and neglect, that had culminated during the Primacy of his immediate predecessor, the Savoyard Boniface. Here it was that, in 1279, Peckham held his Court, at which not only the retainers and feudatories of lesser note were summoned to present themselves before him, as vassals to their chief, but no less illustrious a member of England's aristocracy[1] than Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester, one of her most wealthy and influential nobles, the descendant of the Conqueror's favourite De Clare, the Lord of "Tunebridge" (Tonbridge), and its many dependencies, and himself son-in-law of the King (for he had married Edward I.'s daughter Joan), did homage to the Archbishop as *Seneschallus*, thus bringing to an end a long-sustained feud between the proud noble and his feudal lord.

But the historic glory of Lyminge as a residence of the Archbishops was short-lived: it began, so far as records or history disclose, with the visitation of Peckham; and

[1] Matthew of Westminster thus describes him, "Post regem potentissimus regni in opere et sermone."

a century after whatever there had once been of a Palace had disappeared. When Courtenay succeeded to the Primacy, he found himself burdened with a multitude of rambling and expensive Manor-houses, mostly erected by Lanfranc, and now fallen into woful disrepair; and he obtained permission of the King to pull down all those which were least convenient, and least capable of repair, and perhaps too of defence; and under this category fell Lyminge; and thus it passed out of the range of England's history, only remaining a portion of the possessions and revenues of the See until the days of Henry VIII., when it was one of the first to be sacrificed to the Royal needs, or greed.

One use to which the materials of Lyminge, as of other similarly condemned Manor-houses, was applied, was not without its significance. In part they went to the repair of neighbouring churches; but chiefly they were utilised as means for strengthening the defences of those Manor-houses which were more important and more necessary; thus strikingly illustrating the transition stage through which England was passing in the latter portion of the fourteenth century, when the peaceful and dignified Manor house and Park of Lyminge had to give place to the strongly fortified Castle of Saltwood.

Different are the thoughts called up by the sight of SALTWOOD'S proud towers! different the aspect of social English life which they recall from those on which we have been dwelling! The *Aula de Lyminge* represented the calm dignity and unquestioned jurisdiction of a lordly Peckham or a Winchelsea, not more fitly than the "Donjon, Tower, and Keep" of Saltwood the martial rigour and stern sway of a Courtenay or an Arundel. The latter half of the fourteenth century, if it saw the Primacy of

the middle ages in the zenith of its power and glory, saw it also in the height of its political troubles and dangers. All this is "stamped in fierce meaning" on the ramparts which still crown these heights. The outer bailey-guard, the flanking towers of the main gateway, the *machicoulis* stretching between, all tell of the high-born and proud Courtenay—not less plainly than his mitred escutcheon, which still remains in bold relief on either side its massive portals. Of these features of the Castle more will be said presently.

Not that Saltwood can boast no earlier history. So long ago as the fifth century tradition tells us that a castle stood here,—built no doubt to supply the place of the old Roman (some even say British) fortress, Stutfall, the massive ruins of which may still be seen some two miles further west, wellnigh buried in the *débris* of the cliff. This ancient building is ascribed to *Oisc*, sometimes spelt *Usc* (which appears in Latinised form as *Escus*), the son and successor of Hengist. For five centuries history and tradition alike are silent as to its fate: from one of the earliest of the Saxon kings of Kent, we pass to the times of the Danes, and find Saltwood still an appanage of the Royal house, being bestowed, in the presence of Canute himself, in 1036, on the Priory of Christ Church, Canterbury, by one Halfden, or, as some spelt the name, Haldene, who is described by Dugdale as *Princeps Anglorum.* In the division of the conventual lands under Lanfranc it came to the Archbishop, and appears in Domesday Book under the heading *Terræ Militum Archiepiscopi*, as being held, not by the Archbishop himself *en demesne*, but held of him under knight's service by Hugo de Montfort. The grandson of this Hugo having fallen into disfavour with Henry I., was obliged to fly the country; and Saltwood with his other estates fell into the King's

hands, who conferred it on his standard-bearer, Henry de Essex: he, however, was soon after guilty of an act of great cowardice in a skirmish with the Welsh, for which he was degraded, and his possessions were escheated to the Crown. Henry II. not only retained Saltwood, but, ignoring the feudal rights of the Archbishop, placed the castle in charge of a minion of his own to hold in his name. This was Ranulph, or Ralph, de Broc, a man specially obnoxious to Becket, who protested vehemently, and formally charged the King with robbing the Church of its possessions. This quarrel has given to Saltwood a sad notoriety in the annals of the English nation. The four conspirator knights, already mentioned, who had hurried over by different routes from Normandy, found in the castle a convenient and safe rendezvous, and after a night spent here in planning their dark deed, hastened on for Canterbury accompanied by de Broc himself, resolved to give the widest interpretation to the King's rash reproach, "Will no one rid me of this turbulent priest?" and bent on humbling and punishing the powerful and proud Becket. Henry, however sincere his penitence for the appalling crime of which he had thus been the cause, made no restitution of the Castle to the See. It was left to John, at one time the defiant scorner of the Church's authority, at another her fawning slave, to give it back to Becket's successor, Hubert Walter. From that time it remained among the possessions of the Primacy till the days of Henry VIII.

Saltwood seems to have been very rarely honoured by the presence of royalty. The visit of Edward II., who lodged here on his way to France, is apparently the only one on record. During the illustrious though troubled reign of his son, it has no place in English history. Nor till the fourth year of Richard II. does it seem to have be-

come the regular residence of any of the Archbishops. It was then that Courtenay succeeded to the Primacy, and with him commenced the glorious era of this grand old fortress.

Courtenay was half a soldier by descent; for on his mother's side he was the grandson of the soldier-king, Edward I., while during his early years the exploits of Edward III. and the Black Prince must have been to him as familiar household words: added to such personal antecedents, the fate of those who had gone before him in the Primacy could not have failed to influence his mind and action; the narrow escape of Stratford at Charing half a century before, and the sad fate of his immediate predecessor, the wise and gentle Sudbury—backed by his own experience in the See of London, during five years of Richard's reign,—would combine to make him prefer a strong fortress to an exposed Manor-house; and will fully account for Saltwood assuming under his hands the character of a Baron's Castle rather than that of a Churchman's Palace. Thus it came, then, that the transfer of the materials of Lyminge went to strengthen the defences of Saltwood.

It is as a medieval fortress, though the residence of an Archbishop, that Saltwood has its history written on its walls. The outlines of the Castle may still be traced—an ellipse enclosing an area of some three acres; while on the hillside to the east, from which point the Castle would be most liable to be attacked, a formidable outwork was formed by two parallel walls running out from the sides of the ellipse, terminating in bastions with a connecting curtain between. On the north face of this outwork was the gateway, strongly protected by portcullis and commanded by bastions, and only to be reached by a drawbridge crossing the moat, which, some 30 feet

deep and 150 wide, surrounded the entire range of walls. Here was the only entrance to the bailey-guard and thence to the Castle itself; but it was not until access was gained within this outer enclosure that the real strength of the fortress became apparent. Here was another moat and another drawbridge; and towering upwards for about 100 feet stood the main gateway. In the centre, recessed between two massive circular flanking towers, heavily battlemented, with deeply splayed loopholes covering the approach, swung a ponderous gate, the staples of which remain; but there is no trace of a portcullis,[1] while at a height of some 70 feet a *machicoulis* projected from the face of the wall, ready to pour its stream of molten lead or boiling oil on the heads of any rash assailants. Such was the original character of the defence; and such the gateway still remains; except that both outer and inner moat are dried up and filled in with crumbled ruins, and the outer court itself occupied by ricks and farm buildings.

On passing through the entrance-arch (which has been long closed up and the whole interior of the basement converted into a dwelling-house, with a plain deal door, reached by a flight of brick steps) the eye is at once attracted by the character of the roof: a single bay, if we may so call it, of about 16 feet square, is formed of bold diagonal groining, which terminating abruptly, gives place to a series of ruder, bolder, transverse ribs, that span the roof along the remainder of the building: in either side wall is a deeply splayed window (now much obstructed by the rear of the circular tower projecting beyond it); in the right-hand tower, behind a small room, there probably arose a spiral stone staircase

[1] It is remarkable that the groove for a portcullis is to be found on the inside arch leading into the courtyard.

leading to the apartments above; while in that on the left, the space corresponding was evidently a *garde-robe;* another staircase, of which the upper part still remains, led from the interior of the gateway to the other rooms in the rear of the building.[1]

The goodly room in front, with its sleeping chambers in the towers, was no doubt occupied by the Chief Warder, or Constable of the Castle, while his armed retainers were located in those behind.

On the left or southern side of the inner courtyard clearly lay the public and private apartments of the Archbishop himself, while along the northern wall ranged the offices and dormitories of his retinue; but of these latter not a vestige of any inner wall remains, and scarcely a jamb of a window in the ramparts (which are smothered in ivy) can be traced, to justify a conjecture as to the probable arrangement of the buildings. But on the south side it is otherwise; dilapidated indeed all appear, yet the massiveness of their structure has rescued enough from decay to enable one in some degree to recall the inner life of its former occupants, and to people again in imagination these once stately apartments. Conspicuous among them stands out the skele-

[1] These details have been thus minutely dwelt upon, under the conviction that they one and all tend to confirm the impression, which the outer appearance of the stone-work and general construction of the gateway convey, that the front and the flanking towers, which undoubtedly constitute the glory and strength of the Castle, were additions made by Courtenay, for the purpose of greater security, to an already existing gateway. We are aware that such an opinion is at variance with that entertained by many eminent Kentish archæologists, who would ascribe the entire gateway to Courtenay; but with all diffidence we would ask, How else can the marked difference in the masonry of this frontage and that of the side walls of the building be accounted for? or the obstructed side windows? or the abruptly broken groining of the roof, and the difference in the mouldings of the ribbed and the groined portions? or the difference in the elevation of the imposing front rooms and the more humble apartments behind?

ton of what once was the Banqueting Hall:[1] of its six windows, three on either side, those on the south have been built up apparently for centuries; those on the north, though all the geometrical tracery has gone, retain in the general shape and jambs distinct indications of having belonged to the days of Courtenay; the stone corbels still remain, to show that it was once spanned by a lofty roof, though probably of wood, as there are no traces of stone groining above. The floor was evidently considerably raised—probably a crypt-like kitchen lay under it—and brought the company, as they sat at table, to a level with the windows, from which they could enjoy the vast panoramic view that opened out to the south,—the sloping glades of the home-chase which lay close at hand, and over them the towers or spires of the many Churches which Hythe could then boast,—further on the rippling waters of the Channel, and in the distance the coast of France,—a *coup d'œil* well calculated to soothe the troubled spirit of a Primate seeking repose from the turmoil and intrigues of Court, or to renerve and brace up the Church's champion for renewed struggle with her enemies, whether high or low, whether those of a domineering Papacy, an exacting King, or a turbulent populace.

Beyond the Banqueting Hall a stone stair led to the Archbishop's Audience-chamber, and behind it, along a corridor in the rampart wall, to the sleeping apartments; while underneath extended, and still remains in good preservation, with its ribbed stone roof, the store-room or cellar, corresponding in character with the earlier portion of the Main Gateway, and probably of a date anterior to Courtenay's time.

And where was the Chapel? Beyond this cellar, and

[1] This is sometimes called the Chapel; but its position, size, and general construction contradict the idea.

separated from it by a small court or garden plot, there stands a wall running north and south, in which, smothered as it is with ivy, one side of a lofty window can be traced, though so dilapidated as seemingly to defy conjecture as to its original character and probable use. But a clue is at hand: near the eastern end of a ruined side wall on the south, may be detected, under its thick curtain of ivy, the distinct remains of a *piscina;*[1] here then was the east wall of the Chapel; here stood the altar; the foundations of the southern wall also remain; while the undulations of the ground on the north side clearly outline the site and shape of the Chapel.

One more feature of interest may be noted. The line of the rampart wall is broken at intervals by square towers, or bastions, several of which have fallen into utter ruin; one on the west face is in fair preservation, and retains traces of the line of steps by which access was gained into its deep dark basement: such a dungeon-like basement no doubt existed under each of these massive towers, and served as a cell or prison. To one of these dungeons probably the faithful and unswerving William Thorpe of Shrewsbury, who holds so honourable a place on old John Foxe's death-roll of the victims of religious persecution, was consigned, after having been arraigned for heresy before Arundel in Saltwood Castle; of whose fate nothing is known—nothing beyond the too well-founded surmise that in the Saltwood dungeon he found a martyr's grave.

[1] The writer has nowhere found any allusion to this *piscina*. He is indebted for the discovery of it to the enterprise of a son of the Rev. W. F. Erskine Knollys, at that time Rector of Saltwood, who accompanied him on a visit of exploration among the ruins, and who at some personal risk clambered on along the ivy, and suddenly exclaimed, "Here is a recess in the wall, with a flat stone scooped out, and a small hole in the middle like a drain!"

The fate of Saltwood Castle, since it passed in Cranmer's time to Henry VIII., has, like that of so many other estates of the Church similarly appropriated, been a downward one, ending in more or less utter decay. The fortifications, rampart, bastion, and tower, have crumbled down to fill up the moat;[1] of the harder or more highly wrought stone-work, blocks have been preserved for the erection of cow-sheds, pig-sties, and other farm buildings, which now so fatally obstruct the view of the old Castle itself, or have disappeared in the macadamised roads of the neighbourhood. All that retains anything of its original form is the main gateway; and that will no doubt be allowed to stand only so long as it can be utilised as a tenement for farm-labourers, unless the Society for the Preservation of Ancient Buildings come to the rescue.

With the third of this group of Manor-houses the scene changes almost as entirely as in passing from the first to the second. ALDINGTON (or Allington) Park presents as striking a contrast in its history to Saltwood Castle as that did to the *Aula de Lyminge*. It was also a gift from a member of a Royal house, Elgiva, or as her name is sometimes spelt, notably in the window at Canterbury, Edgiva, the widow of Edward the Elder, who conferred it on the Priory of Canterbury in the year 961—a gift which marks the return to favour after his exile of that

[1] The inmates of the fortress had their water supply, not only from the moat outside, but from a very deep well of clear water in the middle of the courtyard. Modern ingenuity, perhaps nearly a century ago, utilised this well, by making in one side of it at a considerable depth a spacious chamber, in which local rumour admits that vast supplies of contraband spirits were concealed. The smuggler's calling is wellnigh suppressed, though the wealth which came of it remains in many families—and so does this well with its deep caverned hiding-place, to tell of the days gone by.

sadly maligned Primate, Dunstan, to whose influence with the Court the Church of that day was indebted for several other benefactions. Aldington appears in Domesday Book, like the manors already mentioned, as being held by the Archbishop *en demesne.*

For four centuries, from the eleventh to the fifteenth, its history is wellnigh a blank; beyond an occasional mention of it in the Register and Rent-Rolls of the Archbishops in the Lambeth Archives, nothing is recorded of its condition. It is in connection with Morton and Warham that it first assumes any importance in the history of the Primacy. And then it presents an aspect of Archiepiscopal life scarcely less strange to minds imbued with nineteenth century ideas than that we have been dwelling upon as associated with the Castle of Saltwood. The sterner features of feudalism, which appeared so prominent in those fortified heights, had given place to the gentler and less perilous state of social life which an open Park and Chase suggest. The century which separated Courtenay from Morton had been one of constant progress towards civilisation and refinement —broken indeed only too often by war and rebellion, and yet tending perseveringly towards peace and order. If the soldier spirit of Courtenay had set its seal on the towering ramparts of Saltwood, the peace-loving, peace-making spirit of the statesman Morton had no less stamped his mark on the "Park" of Aldington. The martial ardour of England, which had displayed itself at Crecy, Poitiers, and Agincourt, had now been satiated with carnage; no longer was Briton arrayed against Briton, brother against brother, as at Towton and Tewkesbury and Barnet; the land was weary and cried out for peace; and with Henry of Richmond ceased the wars of York and Lancaster; and who more instrumental

in conferring on exhausted England the fruits of "her blended roses bought so dear," than Cardinal Morton? Now the war-horse and the lance and the coat of mail had wellnigh gone out of use, save in tournament and procession; the hawk and the hound and crossbow had taken their place; the Fortress and the Castle had given way to the peaceful Manor-house and the open Park. Even Prelates confessed to the change, and adapted themselves to it: and Aldington Park proclaimed the influence of the social revolution.

Of this once favourite country retreat of Morton, and still more so of Warham, little remains. A single gable marks the east end of the Chapel, and here, and in the side walls, the outlines of its windows and their wooden mouldings, and still more the alternate layers of wide and narrow stone-work, tell the tale of its antiquity, coeval at least with the House of Lancaster; possibly another, though unrecorded, contribution of the munificent Chicheley. Westward of the Chapel all is modern—a substantial farmhouse with farm buildings beyond.

But standing a little in advance of the Chapel gable and facing eastward, the tale of Aldington's halcyon days may still be read—a terrace-like elevation, stretching in a straight line across the meadow, shows where once stood a walled enclosure; beyond lie ranges of pasture-land, still retaining the names of "Upper," "Lower," and "Middle Park;" beyond these again, to the left, "the Chase," with the deep hollows which were once capacious fish-ponds; while further in the distance stretched "the Frith,"[1] where deer ranged wild. In the near foreground, in the line of the enclosure already mentioned, occurs a

[1] Much of this may have been added by Henry VIII. at a later period, for he retained this manor for some years in his own hands, and added considerably to it by the purchase (or appropriation) of adjacent lands.

break, showing where once stood a stately gateway ; from hence have sallied forth, perhaps with the Primate himself at their head, many a hunting-party, in quest of the game which teemed in the glades and woods around. Such, doubtless, was Aldington Park in the days of Morton, the frequent resort of prince and noble and knight, no unwilling guests at such a Primate's manor-house. Strange as it may seem, and inconsistent with modern views of Episcopal pursuits or functions, in those days there appeared no incongruity in the highest dignitaries of the Church combining an ardent love of field-sports and pastimes with the due performance of their ecclesiastical duties. Even of Cranmer it is recorded that he "delighted in field-sports," that he was a great preserver of game on his manors, and "so bold and skilful a horseman that when Primate of all England he was ready to mount a horse which no groom in his stables could manage." A century later poor Archbishop Abbott obtained an unhappy notoriety from a misadventure in the shooting-field.

Of Warham's residences at Aldington little is on record. Yet with this place is connected an event which, for a time, affected his character for discrimination. Elizabeth Barton, commonly known as "the Holy Maid of Kent," was born here; and Warham in a letter, in which he describes her as "a very well disposed and vertuouse woman (as I am enformyd by her susters)," desires to bring her to the favourable notice of Wolsey. On the detection of her gross imposture, she involved the then Rector of Aldington, Dr Richard Master, and Drs Bocking and Dering, two monks of Canterbury, in her crime; and they were all executed with her at Tyburn in 1528.

The Church at Aldington is not without its marks of

the presence and liberality of these two Primates. It has indeed a much earlier history written in its walls and windows. On the south side is the basement of a massive tower, of very early Norman, if not Saxon, times; in a window are the *ton* of Morton, and also the *knot* of Bourchier: but it is in the western tower that the work of Warham proclaims itself. Begun in the earliest years of the sixteenth century (A.D. 1507), in a worthy spirit of costly liberality and refined taste, its lower storey displays exquisite carving in the niches and panels beside and above the western door; but as the eye travels upwards to the third storey, it falls on work hurriedly finished, or rather unfinished, telling that half a century later—for it was not finished till after 1557—either zeal, or funds, or both, had begun to fail; and no wonder, for in that half century Aldington Park had ceased to belong to England's Primates,—with so many other manor-houses, it had fallen to the Crown. Henry VIII. had left it to Edward VI., who conferred it on Dudley, Earl of Warwick, by whom it was very soon exchanged back to the Crown, where it remained till Charles I. granted it to one of his courtiers. It, like the rest, has since known many changes of owners.

But any account of Aldington would be incomplete which contained no allusion to Erasmus. The appointment of this distinguished man of letters and divine to the Rectory of Aldington, was one of the most conspicuous among the many signs which Warham gave of sympathy with the higher and sounder phase of Reformation which even in his day was beginning to exercise an influence for good in England. Yet the connection of Erasmus with Aldington was very slight. He was offered the living in 1511, and at first declined it, on the ground that his foreign accent would militate against his useful-

ness. The men of Kent, he thought, would look on him "as a barbarian, and as speaking in an unknown tongue," and therefore he refused it: and only on its being pressed on him by Warham were his fears overcome, and he was induced to accept it. He only retained it, however, for a few months, and in July of 1512 resigned it, on being appointed to the Professorial Chair at Oxford. Nor is there in any of the biographies of him any expression to lead to the belief that he ever set foot in the parish, much less that he ever resided here.[1]

While the manor-houses hitherto mentioned belong to the Saxon and post-Augustine period, CHARING (and perhaps Wingham also) carries us back to still earlier times; for tradition assigns the honour of conferring Charing on the Church to Vortigern early in the fifth century. It certainly belonged to the Priory of Canterbury three hundred years after; for when Janibert or Jænberht was Archbishop, Offa, the King of Mercia, after his defeat of the Saxons at Otford in 773, seized Charing and bestowed it on one of his northern favourites; but before the close of that century (A.D. 799), Cænulphe, his son and successor, restored it to the See of Canterbury at the entreaty of the then Primate, Athelard. It is described in Domesday Book as held of the Archbishop *en demesne*, and in the "Notitia" of the Cathedral lands

[1] For much valuable information on the history of Aldington, the writer is indebted to the Rev. G. J. Blomfield, Rector of the Parish. Parsons, in his 'Monuments of Kent,' has wasted a considerable amount of sentiment, which he has been at the trouble to support by no less weighty authorities than Cicero and Sam Johnson, in picturing to himself and his readers that "the visitor of this Church and Churchyard, and the scene around," would be "upon the spot where once Erasmus walked." All testimony is distinctly against the theory that Erasmus ever set foot in the Parish! Aldington's claims to the interest of Antiquarian and Churchman are far more real and substantial than any so imaginary and sentimental.

as *proprium Manerium Archiepiscopi*, probably as being generally a favourite residence of theirs; such it is reported to have been of Dunstan, and also, at a later period, of Thomas à Becket. It certainly occupied an important position in the Primacy of Stratford, for it was here that, in the troublous year 1340, he sought for safety when he fled from Lambeth to escape from his political enemies. It would appear to have been unfortified, but its massive gates for a while defied his pursuers, and he was able to effect his escape through a postern-gate in the north wall, and so saved his life.

The old Court Rolls preserved at Lambeth Palace contain frequent mention of courts held at Charing under Chicheley, Stafford, Kemp, and Bourchier; but it is the name of Morton with which this Palace is especially associated. Here, as at Aldington — and indeed in almost every manor-house of the See which had fallen into ruinous decay—he appears as "the repairer of the breaches," the restorer of peace and order. Yet here more than anywhere else, with the single exception of Lambeth, where the noble gateway has perpetuated his name, has Morton left his mark, not so much in the buildings — though old Leland says he "made great buildings at Charing" — as in the history of the place. Under him it first received an English monarch as a guest, in the year 1507. A visit from Henry VII. was an honour Morton had well earned; for he had been the true friend of the unfortunate Henry VI., the devoted companion and comforter of the self-willed but grievously stricken Margaret: yet trusted as the counsellor of the farseeing and, in his case, forgiving Edward IV., he was the "Lord of Ely" whose connection with Richmond had so troubled the blood-stained soul of Richard II. and roused his demoniacal hate; it was "Ely's" master-mind

that brought back Henry of Richmond and planned the marriage between him and Elizabeth of York; he, too, that placed the crown of England on Henry's head, and two years after on hers as his queen—thus strengthening by personal obligation the claim to grateful recognition which the Lancastrian Henry could not but feel that he inherited. A fitting tribute then to his loyal services, in evil report as in good report, was this visit of the grateful king to his leal subject—a visit which reflected as much honour on the King who paid it as on the Primate who received it. A second visit of royalty was paid here in 1520 to Morton's successor, Warham, by Henry VIII., on his way to meet his brother of France on the Field of the Cloth-of-Gold.

How little conception of the grandeur of this Palace when it had monarchs for its guests do the present ruins convey! The dilapidated gateway, the skeleton of the banqueting-hall, the tradition of a chapel, are all that remain; and yet we may linger not without interest over even these relics of departed glory. There is a long range of flint-faced buildings, now occupied as cottages or stables, broken here and there by small windows of various styles—two of them, of ruder construction, whose arches of slant stones converging to the apex proclaim their greater antiquity; and near the further end appears a Tudor gateway, hardly needing the shield with Morton's arms (which within the last few years has disappeared from its side) to testify to that Primate's architectural zeal. The gateway, which is devoid of any fortification or means of defence, is clearly an insertion into a building of much earlier date—probably of the thirteenth century, or even earlier; for in the spacious room above is a fireplace of remarkable construction, the entire back being composed of thin tiles arranged in herring-bone pattern. This was

evidently an apartment of some importance, with large windows at either end. How access was gained to it is not so clear, as no trace of a door on that storey can be discovered; probably a spiral stone staircase, reached by the arch in the courtyard, ascended up in the chamber on the right, where also are distinct remains of the large square stone shaft on the top of which would have stood, as at Saltwood, a *garde-robe*. In the left wall, inside the entrance gateway, is an early English arch with a small "squint" beside it, evidently showing that the porter's lodge lay here; but there is no sign in the wall above that any communication had ever existed with the principal apartment from that side.

When the inner courtyard is entered, a farmhouse of very modest proportions confronts the visitor: stone and flint and brick combine to give it a motley appearance. The original entrance was probably through the pointed arch immediately in front, over which the remains of a large square-headed window suggest that here were private apartments of the Archbishops, all traces of which, beyond this outer wall, have long disappeared. An attempt to reconstruct the place for domestic purposes was evidently made in Elizabeth's reign. A new entrance to the restored dwelling-house was then formed through an early English arch of a window near the east end of the buildings, which is still marked by a stone slab inserted into the wall, bearing the date 1586; and beyond this an arch of a much earlier period, now reached by a ladder, leads to a spiral wooden staircase of singular construction, which evidently led to the sleeping apartments of the domestics. The Elizabethan door is now blocked up, and its entrance-hall converted into a larder.

Beyond this range of buildings, and running at right angles with it, may still be defined with some accuracy

what once formed the banqueting-hall. The mouldings and tracery of the few windows not wholly demolished point to a period almost anterior to that of Morton, though it is more than probable that much of this building was due to him. Here are still the flight of stone steps by which were reached the gallery at the upper end of the hall, and the dormitories in the adjoining building. This was once the scene of royal banquets and princely hospitality—now converted into granaries and outhouses!

The chapel which lay behind has fared even worse. Speaking of it, Hasted (in 1798) says: "The walls are standing entire; on the side wall are three windows with pointed arches, and at the east end a much larger one of the same form." Of this latter one, Hudson Turner, in his 'Domestic Architecture,' says that, even in his day, "one of the chapel windows with geometrical tracery was almost perfect." An engraving by Basire, forty years ago, represents the outline of a lofty east window which was "almost picturesque if not majestic in its ruin." But even this has now disappeared. The arch had probably become dangerous and was removed. The lower portion of the wall, in which the bottom of the window can just be traced among the ivy, now serves as the back of a dust-hole; and soon nothing will remain—very probably not even a tradition—to point out the spot where Warham and Morton, and perhaps Chicheley, knelt in prayer.

The whole scene is a saddening one. It tells of the gradual fall of a stately mansion from dignity to decay—a fall which has been well depicted in the following lines contrasting Charing Palace as it was with what it now is[1]—

> "Where, in luxurious ease reclined,
> Peers, Cardinals, and Kings have dined;
> . . . . . .

[1] See Gentleman's Magazine for August 1833.

Where Morton, safe from dangers past,
(The rival roses joined at last),
Whose counsels gained the King his crown,
No more in dread of Richard's frown,
Full goblets with his sovereign shared
Beneath the roof himself had reared;
Where Warham strove to entertain
Stern Henry with his pompous train,
When proudly he rode forth to hold
Converse with France on Cloth-of-Gold;
Where More's unceasing wit gave birth
To smiles and shouts of social mirth,—
Lonesome and mute, no more as then
Enlivened by the hum of men,
Seized by the tyrant's grasping hand,
Shorn of the grandeur Morton planned,
Defaced, despoiled, deprived of light,
Changed to a barn, now meets the sight."

Like Charing, WINGHAM belonged to Canterbury at a very early period. The piety of King Edmund in 941 (according to Philipott), or of Athelstan, as others say, restored the manor to the See, from which it had been unjustly taken by one of his predecessors. But whether the spoliation of Wingham, like that of Charing, was consequent on the victory of Offa, there is no record. The circumstances of the original grant, as also of the erection of the Manor-house, are wholly unknown. That a Manor-house did exist as early as the twelfth century seems clear; for when Baldwin, in his resentment with the monks for their opposition to his plan of founding a Chapter at Hackington, withdrew from Canterbury, it was to Wingham he first came to nurse his wrath: and when two of his monks followed him here on horseback "to serve the processe of that suite upon him" (as old Lambarde, quoting the Annals of St Augustine, has it) "he received the Processe

dutifully, but he caused them to dismount, and to walk home on foote faire and softly."

Although the absence of any records or of any ruins may lead to the inference that Wingham Palace was far less imposing and lordly than many—such as Saltwood, or Charing, or Otford (of which presently)—yet it could have been no insignificant or contemptible mansion; for Edward I. honoured Robert of Winchelsea with a visit here in 1295, when organising a defence of the seaboard of Kent against the threatened invasion of Philip the Fair of France. Here, too, his indiscreet and unhappy son, Edward II., was the guest of Archbishop Walter Reynolds when preparing for that humiliating journey to France, which he eventually (in 1325) delegated to his young son, of doing homage to his uncle Philip for the Duchy of Guienne—a humiliation which he, in after years, as Edward III., so signally cancelled by his prowess and victories in France. Of Wingham no further mention seems to have been made in history. It passed with the other Palaces to Henry VIII., and now not a vestige remains beyond a small garden-wall.

A like fate to that of Wingham has also befallen what is reported to have once been a "goodly Manor-house" at WROTHAM, though it appears to have lost its place in the history of the nation and the Primacy at even an earlier period. It was originally given to the Monastery of Christ Church at Canterbury, by Athelstan, in the year 964, through the influence of Dunstan; and appears in Domesday Book, under the name of Wroteham, as held by the Archbishop *en demesne*. Its tale may be briefly old. One only incident has come down to us in connection with its history. A supposed visit, but not of England's royalty, sealed its doom. We have it on the

authority of Gervaise that Archbishop Richard (of Dover), Becket's immediate successor, one night, "as he lay here," dreamed a horrible dream—"A very grave and reverend Personage" (so quaint old William Lambarde renders it) "came to his bedside by night," and sternly reproached him thus: "Thou hast scattered the goods of the Church committed to thy charge; and therefore I will scatter thee: and so, with the woorde, vanished out of sight." The remembrance of this dream so haunted the poor man that "he was stricken with such a horrour and chille colde," that he died the next day at Halling, where his illness compelled him to alight on his way to Rochester. The evil repute which this dream brought upon the place doubtless had its effect on Richard's successors: for although it is frequently named in the Court Rolls of the See, not one of the Archbishops for nearly two centuries is mentioned as having trusted himself within its walls. When Simon Islip came to the Primacy in the reign of Edward III., he determined to finish the Palace at Maidstone which a predecessor, John de Offord, had commenced: finding the building at Wrotham fallen into irreparable decay, he conveyed all the available materials to Maidstone; and thus the Manor-house at Wrotham entirely disappeared from the scene, beyond a few crumbling walls, which local tradition points to as having formed part of the ill-fated Richard's residence; and its history from the days of Simon Islip to those of Cranmer has been merged in that of

MAIDSTONE, of which Palace we now take up the tale. This Manor had apparently, in very early times, belonged to the See of Canterbury, and appears in Domesday Book among those held under the Archbishop; but if Philipott's statement be true, it must have been alienated soon

after the Conquest (though by whom or under what circumstances there is no record), for he says that in 1207 it belonged to William de Cornhill or Corinhull, who presented it together with his Castle, which lay to the south of the Church, to Stephen Langton for himself and his successors. Now, at the close of the previous century, when Baldwin had resolved to escape from the interference and control of the Monks of Christ Church by establishing a Chapter of Seculars outside the city and found Hackington too near, he turned his thoughts to Maidstone, as an alternative for Lambeth, for the site. This would imply that the Manor still lay in the hands of the Archbishop; and it was probably only the Castle which William Cornhill presented. Here Boniface the Savoyard, in the middle of the thirteenth century, performed one of the few good actions recorded to his credit; besides the honour generally ascribed to him of having built the Chapel at Lambeth. He built a Hospital, or *Hospitum domus*—a resting-place for pilgrims on their way to Canterbury, which he dedicated to St Peter, St Paul, and St Thomas the Martyr. It was known by the name of the "New Work," hence *Newark*. But 150 years after, Courtenay obtained permission to destroy it, and to erect a College of Secular Priests, for which purpose the greater part of the Hospital was removed, and all that remains to mark its site is the little Church of St Peter's in the South Borough: while of Courtenay's grander pile a notable gateway on the south of the churchyard still stands, and is a fine specimen of decorated English architecture; the spacious chamber over the gateway has been tastefully converted into a Masonic Lodge; and the adjoining range of buildings, long used as an outhouse, have been recently somewhat carefully restored, and are now not inappropriately utilised as a School of Art. Beyond these, on the

water's edge, stands a rather handsome square tower, probably forming part of the older Castle, with a doorway still remaining on its water-face giving private egress to the river. This building may have served as the residence of the Archbishops before the Palace was built.

The date of this Palace can be accurately fixed. John Ufford, or Offord, was the first to plan it; but his brief tenure of office—for he died before he could be consecrated (A.D. 1349)—prevented his doing more. His successor in the See, Bradwardyn, who scarcely survived his consecration a month, and died within the same year, left the work untouched; and then Simon Islip, who followed him, carried out and completed Ufford's designs, using largely, as has been already mentioned, the materials from Wrotham. At the close of that century came Courtenay, who obtained authority to remove the Hospital which Boniface had built, and established and endowed a College of Seculars, rebuilt the Chancel of the Church, and made considerable additions to the Palace; in which he died in 1396, and was buried in his own Chancel.[1]

Another century passed, during which Maidstone appears to have been little used by the Primates; the only noteworthy fact in connection with it being that Henry VI. here paid a visit to Chicheley. When Morton came to the See in 1486, he found, here as elsewhere, the devastation or the neglect caused by a long political struggle; and here, as everywhere else, he set himself to restore and

[1] For four centuries Maidstone was content, or perhaps reluctantly consented, to admit that *her* great Archbishop's bones had obtained more honourable sepulture in Canterbury Cathedral, while what she could show as Courtenay's tomb was only his cenotaph. But in 1800 the slab was raised, the ground carefully examined, and the discovery was made that his express wish as recorded in his Will had not been overruled by the King's command; here were bones and fragments of pontifical dress—enough to prove that Maidstone held the tomb and Canterbury only the cenotaph.

beautify what remained of Islip's and Courtenay's work. To this Warham, his successor, also added some further repairs.

On the whole, Maidstone Palace, with all its local advantages, seems to have held but a very secondary place in the favour of the Primates. A second visit of Royalty, of Henry VIII. to Cranmer, proved a fatal honour to it. In the memorable year, the twenty-ninth of that king's reign, it passed, with so many others, to the Crown; and very soon after from Henry to his friend Sir Henry Wyatt, of Allington and the Mote—whose grandson, Sir Thomas, was the hero (?) of the insurrection in Mary's reign, when the Palace reverted to the Crown, and was bestowed by Elizabeth on Sir John Astley, with whose family it remained for some time, and has since passed, by purchase, into the hands of the Marshams.

Few of the old Palaces have retained so many traces of the successive changes to which they have been subject. A bold coigne on the river face seems to define the respective works of Islip and Courtenay. On the opposite side of the road stands also a range of buildings, formerly granaries and stables belonging to the Palace, in good preservation. An old cellar, a separate building on the south, with its bold flat-ribbed groining, may date back to Courtenay's, or perhaps even to Islip's time. One three-light boldly cusped window on the lower storey in the north end would seem to belong to Chicheley's time; two smaller ones above to Morton's. In one of the sleeping apartments, long hidden behind deal panelling, and only recently brought to light, is a fireplace, with an exquisitely though lightly carved spandrel, containing the arms of Warham. But with these few exceptions, and two small early English doorways at the top of the steps on either side of the eastern face, all is miserably modern.

On the river face much of the rich Caen stone dressings of the windows has long since given place to bright red bricks, and stone mullions and cusps to deal sashes; and what little remains is fast crumbling to decay. On one gable, probably of Islip's time, bold picturesque timber-work or the sombre Kentish rag, the pride of the county, has been replaced by a facing of garish red tiles. On the east or entrance side the worst form of the later *renaissance* style reigns supreme; and where probably a handsome oriel marked the *daïs* of the dining-hall is now a hideous staring sash window; while within there can be little doubt that the massive panelled mantelpiece, on which, it must be confessed, is some good scroll-work and wreathing of the Caroline age, thrusts out of sight what once was a handsome open fireplace of the dining-hall, and where the Astley crest and arms offer but poor compensation for the loss of richly carved spandrels and heraldic bearings of the fourteenth or fifteenth century—a substitution, however, less to be deplored and execrated than the mutilation of the exquisitely canopied *sedilia* in the Church, chiselled away to make room for hideous monuments of the Astley family, which commemorate their tenure of the Palace.

A proud ruin like that of Saltwood or Otford has its charm in the picturesque and often majestic fragments, suggestive of a grandeur and a beauty it once possessed. So, too, in Croydon there peep out gems of art or of taste worthy to be treasured as evidences of a talent that has been, or as examples whereby to foster a talent that may be, and is being, revived. But in a building where, while the outlines of form have been still preserved, yet all the gentler, minuter traits of character,—the feeling which can be embodied even in hard stones,—have vanished before the advance of successive innovations and adaptations,—where nearly every particle that had historical or anti-

quarian value has disappeared to make room for hard utilitarian improvements,—before such a building how can the mind of the sympathising lover of English architecture, however innocent he may be of real science of the art, fail to be saddened, not at the absence, but at the loss, of all that was once beautiful and harmonious. Such a building is the Maidstone Palace of to-day,—like a richly inlaid suit of Crusader's armour of Damascus, with its proud dents and its honourable gashes, repaired with galvanised iron or zinc!

Pass we from this still habitable dwelling-house to an utter ruin, yet one richer in its history and more eloquent in its decay. OTFORD—in Domesday Book spelt Ottenford—ranks among the possessions of the See, in point of time, next after Canterbury and Lyminge. This, too, was a Royal gift; conferred probably, as they had been, though the motive is not recorded, in a spirit of pious admiration of the Church's efforts at evangelising the still heathen Saxon subjects. But it, like the still earlier manors of Charing and Wingham, had been seized and wrested from the Church by Offa the Mercian as part of the fruits of his signal victory over the Saxons at Otford in 773, who appropriated their revenues to his own use; but he did not leave Otford to his successor, Cænulphe, to restore, for (according to Philipott) Offa himself restored it to the Priory of Christ Church, Canterbury, twelve years after the battle, "to expiate the guilt of that blood which he had drawn from the veins of Aleric (Camden says Ealhmund) and his Kentish men, which was aggravated because those he had slaughtered had their names enrolled in the Register of Christians,"—and so Otford reverted to the Church. It was the scene of a second battle, some 250 years later, against an in-

vading force, not of Mercians from the North, but of Danes from the South; and probably on the very spot which to this day is called Danesfield were the invaders defeated under Edmund Ironsides, A.D. 1016, when the "men of Kent" retrieved their honour, and avenged the slaughter perpetrated at Canterbury five years before, and the cold-blooded murder of their brave old Archbishop Alphege.

Of Otford little seems to be on record during the next century and a half: and even then it is traditional or legendary rather than historical; for it is in connection with Thomas à Becket, that fertile source and frequent subject of legend and miracle; and of these Otford, supposed to have been a favourite residence of his, naturally supplied its fair share. To him indeed is generally ascribed the original erection of the Palace. To him undoubtedly tradition assigns its earliest fame. It was, so they say, the stroke of his staff that supplied it with water—of which miracle St Thomas's Well is regarded as a standing proof. Now the very name of the place suffices to expose the fallacy of such a legend: it implies at least an abundance of water, while the "Holy Well" is clearly nothing more or less than a *balneum* or bath, attached to an ancient Roman dwelling; so many traces of which may still be found in the shape of fragments of Roman tiles and pottery strewn over the surface of the adjacent fields. Here too, no doubt with equal truth, the less beneficent and indeed somewhat spiteful miracles on the poor nightingale and the unfortunate blacksmith are reputed to have been performed. But setting aside the miraculous, authentic history undoubtedly connects the name of Canterbury's great Primate and Martyr with this Palace, though nothing remains as an authentic relic of the Manor-house in which he lived.

With the close of the thirteenth century Robert de Winchelsea appears to have given a prominence to Otford. The life of this Primate was a singular one, and presents a fair illustration of the times in which he lived. He was evidently a man of humble birth: receiving his education at the Canterbury Grammar School, he gave early signs of intellectual power, and rose rapidly into royal favour, till he became the nominee of Edward I. to the See, vacated by Peckham. Edward doubtless hoped to find in him a more pliant spirit than his predecessor's; but, as Henry II. had found in Becket, and Henry VIII. was to find in Wolsey, no sooner had Winchelsea attained to power than he became self-asserting, haughty, stubborn, and defiant. His name is generally associated with acts of charity. To him is accredited "the Lambeth dole": and he often justified the lavish character of his table on the ground that it enabled him the better to feed the poor at his gate. Yet with all his liberality, Winchelsea was very unpopular. His bearing and manner offended high and low alike, and he soon became an object of especial dislike to his Royal patron, whose will he successfully opposed in the matter of "supplies." His unpopularity had indirectly its effect on Otford. Notwithstanding his proverbial liberality to the poor, especially around his Palace at Canterbury, he became so obnoxious to the citizens generally, that to escape their opposition and insolence he withdrew from his metropolitical city to this retired peaceful Manor-house, which he considerably enlarged, and where he spent the later years of his life; here also he died in 1313. His tomb was preserved for many years in the church close by, but all trace of it has long since disappeared. Edward I. is believed to have once honoured his stubborn and defiant Primate with a visit at Otford, as he did at Canter-

bury on the occasion of his second marriage; but no clue is given to the date of this Otford visit: it was no doubt during one of the brief intervals of reconciliation between them.

During the fourteenth century little appears to be recorded in relation to Otford beyond the fact that two consecrations, and in each case of a future Archbishop, were held here. In 1362 Simon de Islip, prevented by illness from travelling to Canterbury, consecrated here in his private chapel his nephew, William de Whittlesey, to the See of Worcester; and he in his turn, some ten years after, as Archbishop, consecrated in the same chapel the high-born "boy Bishop,"[1] Thomas Arundel, to that of Ely.

Another interval of above two hundred years occurs without any apparent connection of Otford with the history of the Church, or of the Primates. With Henry Dene (or Deane), during his brief Archiepiscopate, it recovered favour; he considerably enlarged it. But it was under his successor, Warham, that Otford attained to its greatest splendour; and that too in consequence of a difference between him and the men of Canterbury. As his predecessor Winchelsea had, to their heavy loss of his liberality, turned his back upon his own city and Palace to escape from their offensive conduct and insolence, so now Warham, nettled at their petty opposition and dispute about the boundaries of his grounds, gave up his intention of erecting in Canterbury a costly and sumptuous Palace worthy of the Metropolitical See and its Primates, and transferred his liberality to Otford; where he expended above £33,000 (an enormous sum in the currency of that day) in building that noble mansion, the ruins of which still convey some idea of

[1] He was only twenty-two years old on his consecration!

its magnificence. Writing from Otford, Erasmus, the friend and frequent guest of Warham, says that the Archbishop "left nothing of the first woorke, but onely the wals of a hall and Chapell."

The mention of that distinguished *protégé* of Warham's calls up before the mind's eye a group of contemporary worthies, whose presence here was probably no uncommon event. Warham delighted in the retirement and freedom of Otford. Lambeth was inconveniently near to Whitehall for the Primate who, on resigning the Chancellorship, had sought to escape from political struggles and Court broils. Even Croydon was too much within reach. At Otford he might feel secure from interruption. Here, with his friend and frequent companion Erasmus, we may picture him, surrounded by many other leading minds,—the able and liberal Dean Colet of St Paul's, the brilliant and true Sir Thomas More, and among lesser lights Grocyn and Linacre and Lilly; and perhaps art was represented in the person of Holbein. While Lambeth was the Esquiline Palace, Otford was the Tiburine Villa of the Mæcenas of the day, where he gathered around him and befriended "the men of the New Learning." With such associations there seems almost a special appropriateness in the coincidence that "the Prayer-Book was drawn up in the peaceful seclusion of Otford." One more allusion—and it is a painful one—before we pass on from the past to the present. Hither Cranmer had retired, under some passing cloud, to escape from the intrigues and excesses of the Court, when, in that memorable month of May 1536, he was suddenly summoned back to Lambeth, to give one more, and perhaps the severest, proof of his timid subservience to his Royal master's will, by pronouncing in the dark sepulchral crypt of Lambeth Chapel the fatal sentence of divorce

on the too fair but foolish Ann Boleyn; which was to be so speedily followed by her execution.

Otford Palace was then in its glory. The magnificent edifice Warham had reared was worthy to receive royalty. But a visit from Henry VIII., however great the honour, was fraught with danger. Henry had visited Warham at Otford, and at Knole. His covetous eye had no doubt already fixed upon them for himself. But Warham's temper was far too resolute, his grasp too firm; so the King had only waited till his more pliant nominee Cranmer was fairly in possession, to wrest it out of his feebler hands. The circumstances under which this imperious demand was made, are so fully and almost pathetically described by Cranmer's secretary, Ralph Morice,[1] that (while reserving for future consideration the whole question of the transfer of the many other Manor-houses by the Archbishop to the King) we cannot refrain from giving here in Morice's own words the account of the conversation he records as passing between them, especially as it took place at Otford. "I was by," he says, "when Otford and Knole were given him. My Lord minded to have retained Knole unto himself, and said that it was too small a house for his Majesty. 'Marry,' said the King, 'I had rather have it than this house,' (this conversation took place at Otford), 'for it standeth on a better soil. This house standeth low and is rheumatic, like unto Croydon, where I never could be without sickness; and as for Knole, it stands on a sound perfect ground; if therefore I should make abode here, as I mean to do now and then, I will live at Knole, and most of my house shall live at Otford.' By this means both these houses were delivered into the King's hands. As for Otford, it is a notable, great, and ample house."

[1] Anecdotes of Cranmer, published by the Camden Society.

So it passed to the King, in company not only with Knole, but with Maidstone, Wrotham, and some smaller manors,—all transferred in one deed, bearing date the last day of November, in the 29th year of King Henry VIII.'s reign—*i.e.*, 1538—to be very soon followed by many more, as will be duly noticed presently.

Of the subsequent history of Otford, little seems to be known. No attempt appears to have been made at any period to stay the hand of time. Hall and Chapel, kitchen and cellar, dormitory and out-office, have alike disappeared. One proud tower of three storeys alone stands, its walls so enveloped in ivy that scarcely a window can be traced; while in spite of, or perhaps in bitter irony at, Becket's curse on the poor village Vulcan, the lower portion of this tower, the probable *oriele* of the hall or the Primate's sanctum, is now utilised as a blacksmith's forge; and a corridor running by the side of it, the corbels still remaining to show where a handsome oaken roof rested, is now a mere lumber-shed.

Few relics of the old Palace are to be found preserved in any of the neighbouring cottages, even of those mentioned by Hasted as existing in his day (not quite a hundred years ago). In the Bull Inn, unnoticed by him, are two panels, however, inserted over the mantel-shelf of this time-honoured hostelry, with carved portraits in profile that bear a striking resemblance to the earlier pictures of Henry VIII. and Katherine of Arragon, and were possibly mementos of a visit paid by them to Archbishop Warham, in the earlier happier days of Henry's married life.

From Otford the transition to KNOLE seems natural; the manors almost join, and, as we have seen, they were closely connected in their transfer to the King: yet while

Otford was among the earliest of the Archiepiscopal possessions, Knole was the last (with the exception of Bekesbourne); and very different have been the later fortunes of the two palaces.

Knole came to the See, not like all the others by gift, but by purchase; and while they have fallen into more or less utter decay, it still retains its Baronial character. Of the early history of Knole nothing is known before the reign of John. It appears to have then belonged to Baldwin de Betun, Earl of Albemarle; from whom it passed in 1203, by the marriage of his daughter, to William de Mareschalle (or Marshall), Earl of Pembroke, who ten years after was one of the leading Barons that extorted Magna Charta from John at Runnymede. In the following reign the mighty Earl fell under the displeasure of the King, who seized his lands and conferred them, Knole included, on a low-born Court favourite named Fulk (or Falertius) de Brut. He however soon forfeited Henry's favour, and on Pembroke's subsequent submission the lands were restored to him. Having no son, his lands passed again by marriage of his daughter to Hugh Bigod, Earl of Norfolk, probably the son of the Robert Bigot whom Shakespeare introduces in "King John" as Pembroke's companion-in-arms. From the Bigod family it soon passed through different families to James Fiennes (sometimes spelt Fenys), on whose father Henry VI. had in 1447 conferred the Barony of Saye and Sele.[1] A loyal devotion to the waning house of Lancaster had so impoverished the family that Knole with all its belongings was sold, and found a purchaser in Archbishop Bourchier, who already possessed the adjoining manor of Sevenoaks. With him begins the ecclesiastical history of Knole; he virtually rebuilt the

[1] This was the distinguished victim of Jack Cade's insurrection.

Manor-house, and made it a favourite place of residence; and on his death, in 1486, he bequeathed it to his successors in the See. Cardinal Morton succeeded him, and even here found an opportunity for further outlay, still enlarging and beautifying the already noble range of buildings. Warham, too, as has been mentioned, appreciated Knole, and frequently resided here, where he was honoured by visits from the last two Henrys. With Henry VIII. Knole became a Naboth's vineyard. Once possessed of it, under the circumstances already mentioned, he retained it for his own use, and greatly enlarged the Park. Edward VI. was induced to bestow it upon his all-powerful uncle, the Protector Somerset: but it proved a gift of evil omen; a Nemesis seemed to follow it. On Somerset's attainder and death it reverted to the Crown, and was conferred on his great rival Northumberland; with whose execution Mary inaugurated her reign, and Knole was again forfeit to the Crown, and was then given by her to her kinsman Cardinal Pole, as a personal gift. On his death Elizabeth bestowed it on her favourite Dudley, afterwards Earl of Leicester. He, however, perhaps misliking the fatality which seemed to attach to its possession, discreetly gave it back to the Queen; and it was then, in 1566, conferred on another favourite, Thomas Sackville, Baron Buckhurst, who was indeed related to her by the intermarriage of his grandfather with the Boleyns. Buckhurst, the old ancestral mansion of the family, was perhaps hardly in reality inferior to Knole, and it possessed moreover the great attraction of hereditary association for some generations; but "it lay remote." The Sussex roads were probably none of the best in those days; so there may be some foundation for the family tradition that the gift of Knole as a place of residence implied Elizabeth's

desire to keep her trusted kinsman within easier reach of the Court and Council Chamber. The favour he had received from Elizabeth was continued to him by James, who in the first year of his reign created him Earl of Dorset. The curse so long resting upon the house would now seem to have spent itself, the fatality to have passed away; for the Sackville family have remained in undisturbed possession of Knole for above three centuries.

Although Knole has retained but few of its Archiepiscopal memories, it is undoubtedly one of the most "lordly mansions" of the land; and the few vestiges of its former occupancy which do remain are not without historical interest and value. Of the outer court probably not a stone can date back beyond the times of the Sackvilles. The terms "the King's Stables" and "the Bishop's Stables," still applied to the narrow courtyard to the north of this outer or green Court, traditionally associated with the Henrys and Warham, are far more likely to refer to the visit of James I. to his favoured vassal Thomas, the first Earl, in the year 1607, when it is said the furnishing of one room, entirely of silver, still called "the King's Chamber," cost £8000. The general character of this Court, including its Park front and three sides of the quadrangle, proclaim it to have been of no earlier date than the beginning of the seventeenth century, and the dates 1603 and 1605 on the leaden waterspouts definitely fix these years as the time of its erection; while the shields on either side above the entrance gateway, bearing the arms of Sackville and Cranfield, clearly point to an even later period, indeed after the Restoration, and show that Richard, the 5th Earl, who had married Frances Cranfield, daughter of the first Earl of Middlesex, restored, or more probably rebuilt, this gateway.

It is when this outer Court is passed, and the gateway leading into the middle or lesser Court is reached, that we seem to be brought face to face with the old Palace of the Primates. That deep-set gateway, with its massive square flanking towers, constituted the old bailey-guard; overhead still remain portions of the machicolated projections, so formidable a means of defence in those troublous times when Bourchier became possessed of Knole; while an oriel or bay window, inserted by Morton, breaking the line of the supporting corbels, and rendering the *machicoulis* useless, as clearly marks the change which fifty years had brought over the land, from the wars of the Roses to the comparative peace under the Tudors, when such modes of fortification and defence had gone out of date by becoming no longer necessary.

Whatever else of the older building may have remained in this middle Court and the smaller one beyond, little is now left; much of it had been destroyed in a great fire in 1623, when "half of my Lord of Dorset's house was burnt down." Two solid square towers on the southern or garden face—one on a line with the old bailey-guard and the other at the east end—mark the probable extent of Morton's or Bourchier's building; while a *renaissance* corridor and apartments running between show where and when the work of restoration was carried on. Beyond the eastern Tower extends the Chapel, where under Jacobæan panelling and ornaments, though good of their kind, all trace of earlier art and taste have disappeared. In a room over the old gateway are some shields, one bearing within a "Bourchier knot" a monogram somewhat resembling the letters (in old English) Merci, and in the windows of another room the arms of the Cranmer family for four generations,—an ill-placed, if not mocking, memento of the man

who sacrificed this and so many other manor-houses to gratify the greed of his Royal patron.

These Cranmer coats of arms must have been a later invention, and involve what may be called a heraldic anachronism. Those of the Archbishop's father and grandfather (according to the description and drawings in Bridgman's 'Sketch of Knole') are charged with three *pelicans*, whereas it is well known that the ancestral bearings were three *cranes*, for which pelicans were substituted in the case of the Archbishop at the suggestion of the King himself.

[For the description of the present state of Knole, the writer has been compelled to rely upon printed statements, and upon his own recollection of the several points of interest during a hurried visit to the place some few years ago, not having been able to verify or correct the published descriptions by a careful personal examination.]

FORD, in the parish of Chislet, near Whitstable, once boasted, according to Philipott, "a magnificent mansion," and also a goodly park; yet it is rarely mentioned in the history of the Archbishops, of whose manors it was one of the earliest: having been conferred by Ethelbert on Augustine and his Priory. Leland says that Cardinal Morton included it among his many restorations, for he "made almost the hole house at Forde." But Cranmer appears to have been its most frequent occupant. In addition to its proximity to Canterbury and to Herne, where his valued friend in life and fellow-martyr in death, Nicholas Ridley, was a constant resident, Ford had also a well-stocked deer-park, which offered some attraction to that sport-loving Primate. Here he was in retirement when the summons reached him to appear before the

Star-Chamber at Westminster; and from hence he went a prisoner to the Tower, to Oxford, and to the stake. In Parker's time, whatever "Ford Place" might have once possessed of magnificence must have all passed away, for a letter to the Lord Treasurer, begging to be relieved from the heavy expense of restoring it, shows that for him it possessed no attractions: he describes it as "a large but old, decayed, wasteful, unwholesome, and desolate house; in such a corner, and the soil such that (he thought) no man would have delighted to dwell there if he had any other place nigher the Church:" and he wanted to pull it down, and with the materials repair the Palaces at Canterbury and Bekesbourne; but this plan fell through.

It was probably the uninviting nature of its position on the north-east coast of Kent, and its cumbrous comfortless character, that led Henry VIII. not to include it among the manors he so unscrupulously appropriated. The only other occasion on which Ford seems to have been a temporary home for a Primate was when the unhappy Abbott, in 1627, fell into disgrace and was for a time banished from Court and from Lambeth. He then sought retirement in this secluded corner of his Diocese. Twenty years after, what still remained of this dilapidated old Manor-house shared the fate of so many other ecclesiastical buildings, among others Canterbury and Bekesbourne, and was demolished by the Parliamentarian spoliators. Thus it comes that only a few ruined walls and almost buried foundations remain to tell us where Morton's "magnificent mansion" once stood.

So has it fared, too, with another of the old Palaces along the coast, and one which had a historical value of its own. TEYNHAM or TENHAM, near Faversham, was

another of the gifts of Cænulphe in the year 799: whether, like Charing and Wingham, an act of restitution, or a free gift, does not appear; though its position as a connecting-link between the Sees of Canterbury and Rochester leads to the former inference, and that it originally formed part of Ethelbert's liberality to Augustine; for Rochester clearly was at first and for many years a dependent See on that of Canterbury. According to Lambarde there attached to Teynham a remarkable claim over the See of Rochester to this effect. On the death of a Bishop of Rochester, his crozier was brought by the monks of that Cathedral and laid on the altar at Teynham, and thence placed by the Archbishop of Canterbury in the hands of his newly-elected Suffragan. Whether or not the position of Teynham, lying almost on the border-land between the two Dioceses, and nearly midway between the two Cathedrals, gave to it this importance, it is now impossible to say: but that such a distinction did attach to it, involving the claim of the Primate, if not to nominate, as his earliest predecessors had done, to the Bishopric of Rochester, still to ratify the appointment of the one on whom the choice of the monks had fallen, and that before the altar at Teynham, appears clearly from the fact that this right was disputed in the case of Gilbert Glanville in the year 1184. The monks of Rochester resisted the claim, and the dispute was only settled by a compromise, which Lambarde thus describes: the monks of Rochester "put the crozier into the hands of Baldwyne, the Archbishop, who foorthwithe delivered it to the Prior of Canterburie, of whom Gilbert Glanville, the next successor, took it." No account remains of any Manor-house that once stood here; nor is there now any ruin: even the fragment of a wall which tradition connected with a palace has recently disap-

peared. It is more than probable that no mansion of any pretension ever did exist, though Baldwin's successor, Hubert Walter, died here. Its proximity to the low land along the shore doubtless gave it an ill repute, and justified the old "rythm of the countrie"—

> "He who will not live long,
> Let him dwell at Muston, Tenham, or Tong."

Yet what it may have lacked in attractiveness as a place of residence for an Archbishop, seems to have been made up for by the fertility of the soil, which rendered it no way contemptible, like Ford, in the eyes of Henry VIII.; for Lambarde describes it as having in his day formed part of a district which was "the cherrie gardein and apple orcharde of Kent." It was specially famed too for its vineyards.

The old and once-famous Manor-house at GILLINGHAM deserves a passing notice. It also lay on the north coast of Kent, though the very name of the parish is wellnigh forgotten in the vast dockyard development of its neighbour parish of Chatham, and in the still more recent growth of its own hamlet of New Brompton. Time was when Gillingham could boast "an eminent Palace," as its Archiepiscopal Manor-house was described. From whom or when the Manor came to the See of Canterbury is unknown: its original bestowal clearly belongs, like so many others, to Saxon times, for it is included in 'Domesday' among those held by the Archbishops at the time of the Conquest; and *Registrum Roffense* mentions that the Monks of St Andrew at Rochester farmed the fishery along the foreshore of the Manor at five shillings a-year, which Lanfranc raised to a rental of forty shillings. There

is the record of at least one consecration having been held in the Chapel of this Palace—that of the distinguished Walter de Merton, the founder of Merton College, Oxford, who, according to Gervase and the Procession Rolls of Canterbury, was consecrated here by Archbishop Kilwardby in 1274. The Lambeth Registers show that, during the 15th century, Gillingham was the frequent residence of the Primates, especially of Chicheley, Kemp, and Bourchier. During the following century it very probably shared the ill repute of its neighbour Manor-houses at Tenham and Ford, for it escaped the grasping hand of Henry VIII.,—only, however, to become Crown property under his daughter; for Elizabeth, in the third year of her reign, became possessed of it by what is probably not inaptly described as "a forced exchange," from Archbishop Parker. It has since passed, by sale, through many hands, until not a vestige has been left of its former glory. In the beginning of the present century there still remained, on the south side of the churchyard, some noteworthy ruins of the once "eminent Palace." Thorpe, in his 'Antiquities of Kent,' says that, in his time, there were many traces of its former grandeur. There were the east and west windows of a noble banqueting-hall, of ragstone and flint, about 110 feet long, and nearly 30 wide, with some of the mullions fairly perfect, though others had been built up with bricks; a spacious fireplace at either end, and a singular projection on the east side, nearly 30 feet long by 20 wide, which some supposed to have been the Chapel, though probably it was the *oriele* of the *dais* —exceptionally large indeed for such a purpose, but perhaps not altogether out of proportion with the unusually grand dimensions of the hall itself. This building, even in his day, had been converted into a barn and a granary. Now not even a vestige remains: the very foundations

have been either dug up or absorbed into some modern building.

Of BISHOPSBOURNE and its history the records are very scanty. How it came at first to be among the possessions of the See, is involved in some doubt. Philipott says that it was given in 789 by Cænulphe, at the solicitation of the then Archbishop, Athelard; whereas Dugdale ascribes the gift to one Aldhmund, an influential and pious citizen and "prefect" of Canterbury, who bestowed it on the Monks of Christchurch for their special use *ad vestimentum eorum*. It is probable that both accounts are correct, and combined make up the real and full history of the transaction; that it was originally given by the worthy Aldhmund, and, like Charing and Wingham, was seized by Offa after his victory at Otford, and then like them subsequently restored by Cænulphe. It did not however remain long in the hands of the Priory, for about twenty years after, in 811, they transferred it to Archbishop Ulfred (or Wilfred) in exchange for that of Eastry. In Domesday Book it appears, under the name of Bourne, as being held by the Archbishop *en demesne*. Then for some four centuries and a half it seems to have been without a history — no allusion to the building of a Manor-house, or to its having been the residence of any of the successive Primates, or of its having been the scene of any event connected with the Church's history,—all, in fact, seems a blank.

Whatever Manor-house may have stood here in Henry VIII.'s time—if there was one, of which not a trace remains —it must have been deemed beneath the notice of that grasping monarch; for while one manor after another was passing into the king's hands, the Archbishop was left in undisturbed possession of Bishopsbourne; and in

1544 he transferred it to Sir Thomas Colepeper of Bedgebury, in exchange for the neighbouring Manor of Bekesbourne. And so Bishopsbourne came to be finally dissociated from the records of the Primacy. Yet in connection with one occupant of its Rectory, this retired Kentish village holds a place of deep interest and honour in the annals of the Church. It became the home of Richard Hooker for the last five years of his life. The promotion of Dr Redmond to the See of Norwich had placed the disposal of this parish in the hands of the Queen; and she, doubtless influenced by "her black husband" and his stanch friend, Whitgift, had nominated that bright ornament of the English Church to it in 1595. Here then the "judicious Hooker" lived in the enjoyment of peaceful study after his many years of controversy at the Temple, and in the society of his scarcely less learned friend Saravia; here he laboured on that *Opus Magnum*, the fifth Book of his 'Ecclesiastical Polity,' which, though the three concluding Books were left incomplete, will remain κτημα ες αει of the English Church. Here, four miles from Canterbury, a little off the road to Dover, "the innocence and sanctity of his life" (we quote the words of his loving biographer, old Izaak Walton) "became so remarkable that many turned out of the road, and others (scholars especially) went purposely to see the man whose life and learning were so admired." The far-famed yew hedge, which according to tradition Hooker planted, still stands; and the old oak-panelled study in which he read and wrote also remains—mementos of his residence here. But all trace, save in its name, has passed away of its having ever been the home of the Primates.

It now only remains to speak of BEKESBOURNE among

the Manor-houses of Kent. This was formerly called LEVINGSBOURNE, from one Levinge, a Saxon, who held it in the days of the Confessor; and from whom it was taken at the Conquest, and conferred on the Bishop of Baieux, under whose name it appears in Domesday Book. On the Bishop's being disgraced soon after, his possessions, and Levingsbourne among them, were confiscated to the Crown. A few years after it passed by gift to a family named Beke, from whom it took its later name of Bekesbourne. It appears to have remained in that family till the fifteenth century, when Archbishop Chicheley purchased it, and conferred it on the Priory of Christ Church at Canterbury. While in their hands it found a liberal benefactor in the person of Prior Goldston I., who was also the builder of the New Lady Chapel, east of the vestry-door, now called the Dean's Chapel, and also of the exquisitely beautiful tower or campanile on the south side of the Cathedral at Canterbury. This worthy prior built for himself a residence at Bekesbourne. The manor, with all its buildings, was, on the dissolution of the monasteries, appropriated by the King, and conferred by him on Sir Thomas Colepeper, who, as has been said, exchanged it with Cranmer for Bishopsbourne. Bekesbourne became a very favourite place of residence with Cranmer. It, like Ford, had a well-stocked deer-park, which suited his sport-loving taste, while its proximity to Herne also, to which benefice he had collated his friend and future fellow-martyr, Nicholas Ridley, gave it additional attraction for him. Parker also appears to have frequently resided here.

By an interesting coincidence the names of Cranmer and Parker are rather singularly brought together in connection with Bekesbourne. Ralph Morice, who had in early days been in the service of no less distinguished a

person than the renowned Margaret, Countess of Richmond, the mother of Henry VII., became subsequently private secretary to Cranmer, and, sharing the obloquy of his master, was for years the victim of cruel persecution, until, escaping from prison, he eventually found refuge at Bekesbourne, under the care of Parker; and here he wrote the apologetic narrative or 'Anecdotes' of his beloved master.

Of the old Palace, very little remains save the name. In the meadow lying behind the present dwelling-house, there may still be detected, by the irregularities of the ground, the lines of the old foundations. But the only portion now standing of the original building is a block, which no doubt formed the gate-house; and on its south wall are inserted two stones, the one bearing the letters "T. C." and Cranmer's coat of arms, the other his motto, "NOSCE TE IPSUM ET DEUM," and the date 1552. Of this building, the spacious upper room appears to have been till quite recently utilised as a Court for Magistrates' Meetings, and the lower rooms used as cells for the prisoners; now they are only receptacles for lumber.

Three Manor-houses have been mentioned in Sussex as formerly belonging to the See of Canterbury; but regarding them very little history has been preserved. This is especially the case with Slyndon and West Tarring: while the failure of history is in no degree supplemented by any architectural remains; for of the one it may be said that it has been "improved out of existence," and of the other that whatever once was has passed away and "left not a rack behind."

In point of time SLYNDON—or as it is sometimes written, *Slindon*—was clearly the earliest to come to the Arch-

bishops, if Ceadwalla be rightly credited with having conferred it on the learned Theodore after his conversion in 686. Leland would identify the place with *Cilindunum*, and detect Roman earthworks in the neighbouring mounds; in which view he is certainly supported by the discovery of considerable numbers of tiles a little below the surface. Its position, lying near the coast between Arundel and Chichester, would account for its having been so favourite a residence of the Archbishops during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, serving as a pleasant summer retreat from Mayfield, which, with all its greater spaciousness and magnificence, had such wild and weird surroundings in the almost inaccessible depths of the Weald. Stephen Langton was so much attached to it that he built here a substantial stone house, in which he delighted to live, and in which he died in 1229.

Archbishop Peckham's Registers show that he was also a frequent resident here, and held Ordinations in the Chapel. When this Manor-house passed, with all the others, from Cranmer to Henry VIII., its general character underwent the corresponding change by adaptation from Episcopal to Lay use, and its architecture from Ecclesiastical Early English to Domestic Tudor. Now even the alterations of the sixteenth century have been so completely built over, or buried, in the still more sweeping changes of the last century, that beyond a stray arch brought to light in more recent alterations, not a vestige remains of Stephen Langton's favourite Manor-house.

The history of WEST TARRING would seem to be even still more meagre. It was originally given to the See by Athelstane about 940; and there is reason to believe that Robert Kilwardby held a Court here in 1277. But all the research of Mr Cartwright, as shown in his 'Rape of

Bramber,' has failed to solve even the primary doubt whether there ever existed a separate Manor-house here, or the Rectory, traditionally known as "Becket's House," was the usual resting-place of the Primates on their visits to the Manor. One point only seems to stand out clear and distinct in the historical mist in which the Parish is enveloped—that Salvington, one of its hamlets, was the birthplace of no less distinguished a man than John Selden, whom old Ben Jonson calls the "Monarch of Letters."

MAYFIELD, however, appears to much greater advantage both in its past history and its present condition. Although the name cannot be identified in the pages of Domesday Book, it was probably connected with the Manor of Malling, and was as such conferred by Egbert, King of Wessex, on the See of Canterbury, with whom it remained when Malling was transferred to the Monks of Rochester. The name of Dunstan is especially associated with this place; and he is said by Eadmer to have built a wooden church here. Without dwelling on the many miracles which medieval chroniclers have interwoven into the life of this energetic and eccentric yet maligned "Saint," of which Mayfield—with the deep glades and gloomy thickets of the Andredesda around, the haunt of wolves and wild boars—was so suggestive; or those ascribed to the body of Archbishop Winchelsea, who died here in 1313,—history tells us that it was at Mayfield Simon Mepham held in 1332 the important Council which was to regulate the future better observance of Holydays and Festivals of the English Church: and that must have been one of his last public acts, for he died here in the following year—as also did his successor Stratford in 1348, and Islip in 1366. The latter

probably contributed very largely to the restoration and enlargement of the Manor-house—the hall especially in its architecture belonging to his time. Mayfield had been honoured in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries by Royal visits from John, Edward I., and Edward III. Those would seem to have been the days of its glory.

But when rival Manor-houses at Otford, Croydon, and still more Lambeth, were rising into favour, offering the counter attractions of being far more accessible, and more convenient too, especially the two latter, for the political life led by the Primates of the next century, the buildings at Mayfield not unnaturally fell into neglect, and eventually passed from Cranmer into the grasp of his Royal Master. He soon transferred it to Sir Edward North, his obliging Chancellor of the newly formed "Augmentation Office" (of which more presently). It was then sold to London's illustrious citizen, Sir Thomas Gresham, under whom the dilapidated Palace resumed some of its former grandeur and beauty; and on this merchant prince again devolved the honour of entertaining Royalty within its walls, in the person of Elizabeth, who visited him during her famous Kentish "Progress" in 1573—in memory of which event one spacious apartment still retains the name of "Elizabeth's Room." In that room formerly stood a stone fireplace of considerable beauty, having on it the date 1571 (apparently altered into 1371) and the Gresham grasshopper; it is now in the room below.

From Sir Thomas Gresham, Mayfield passed — sometimes by marriage, sometimes by sale—to different families, with whom it would seem that its revenues, not its buildings, constituted its chief value, for it gradually became a ruin. A graphic description of its last and greatest degradation may be found in the pages of the 'Gentleman's Magazine' for 1778, where the writer says:

"About forty or fifty years ago it was in a much more perfect state; then the roofs and floors were taken down, &c., but the lofty stone arches were left standing, not with any intention of showing to posterity its ancient grandeur, but because the materials were judged inadequate in value to the expense and danger of throwing them down." The result, if we may judge from old engravings which still exist, was that this once noble hall, with its lofty stone arches standing out in the landscape, must have looked like the fossilised ribs of some prostrate colossal skeleton.

There are some striking architectural features in this spacious hall: the arches are of stone, and carry above them a stone partition up into the roof; yet, massive as they are in material, their proportions are most elegant, and give the appearance of extreme lightness as, rising from slight foliated corbels unsupported by any pillars or columns (only sustained by deep buttresses outside), they embrace a span of nearly 40 feet, with the crown of the arch above 40 feet from the floor. One other point of interest which formerly existed must not be passed over in silence. On the *dais* at the upper end of the hall there stood a recessed seat with a diapered back, and a graceful decorated canopy above, which formed the Primate's throne for use on grand occasions of a Council or a State banquet. All is now lost save the diapering, which has been detached from the wall, and is still preserved.

The site of the Chapel, having the crypt under it, may be still traced by the southern jamb of the east window and the credence recess, not quite smothered in ivy. It ran along the north side of what was probably an open inner quadrangle, which was partially occupied by the new apartments erected by Gresham, and in the

erection of which the elegant windows on the south side of the Chapel were blocked up.

As our tale lies with the old Palace, it might here close; but its present state demands a few words of passing notice. The last purchaser of the property was the Duchess of Leeds, who presented it in 1863 to a Sisterhood,[1] under whose appreciation of its historic and architectural value the old ruinous walls have been restored, with all the knowledge and taste which E. Welby Pugin could bring to bear upon them, and are now devoted to educational work in connection with the Church of Rome.[2]

In Surrey also the Archbishops possessed two Manor-houses besides Lambeth, at Mortlake and Croydon. Of these, MORTLAKE would probably claim priority in point of time, though occupying comparatively a very subordinate position in the annals of the Primacy. It evidently belonged to the See before the Conquest, for it is duly noted in Domesday among the manors held by the Archbishop *en demesne;* but from whom it came, or who was the builder of the Manor-house, there is no record. Anselm is reported by Eadmer to have kept Whitsuntide here in great splendour in 1099. The Lambeth Registers contain entries of several transactions performed here by Archbishops Winchelsea and Boniface. One singularly characteristic occurs in the Primacy of that zealous reformer of the Church's irregularities and abuses, Archbishop Peckham, in which his delicacy of feeling is displayed side

[1] Called "the Society of the Holy Child Jesus."

[2] Among the whilom Vicars of Mayfield appears the name of John Witcliffe, who, being a contemporary, has been generally confounded with England's great first Reformer; but recent research has proved beyond all question that John Wiccliffe of Mayfield and John Wiclif of Oxford and Lutterworth were distinct and very different persons.—See Professor M. Burrow's 'Wickliff's Place in History,' pp. 50-55.

by side with his firmness. He is called upon to take proceedings, in the first year of his Primacy, against a Bishop who, in those days of enforced celibacy, was known to be the father of five sons (*notum vobis Episcopum vestro secreto significo . . . habentem quinque filios*), a scandal apparently so well known as to admit of the delinquent remaining nameless.

Very different is the tale which the grand old walls of CROYDON PALACE tell of its past history. No authentic records or reliable traditions carry us back to its earliest years. Camden says its original name was *Cradiden*.[1]

In Domesday Book it appears as Croindene. In the oldest Registers now extant at Lambeth—*i.e.*, during the Primacy of Peckham—the name is spelt *Croyendene*, *Croyndene*, and *Croyndon*, variations which seem to have been arbitrarily adopted, and with no little caprice, for the next hundred years, until the days of Whittlesey, from which time, about 1371, the medial *n* was permanently dropped.

When or from what quarter it first came to the Archbishops is unknown. It was clearly held by them at the Conquest, for Domesday Book records it as being held by Lanfranc *en demesne*, and specifies its extent and value at the time of the Confessor, which militates against the current statement that it was given by William to Lanfranc. No doubt the existence of a Manor-house here would date from his Primacy, for Eadmer says that Lanfranc "built houses of stone" on many of his manors; and the one nearest to London would presumably not be left unprovided with one, as Lambeth did not then belong to the See. Archbishop Kilwardby, in the year 1273,

[1] Lambarde traces the name to *Craye* or *Craie*, Norman-French for "chalk;" and Isaac Taylor (in his 'Names and Places') suggests that it means "the place where the Chalk Down comes nearest to London."

issued a mandate from "his Manor-house at Croydon" convening a Convocation "at the New Temple;" while the Registers of Peckham show that he several times held Ordinations here, as did his successors.

But of any buildings that Lanfranc may have raised not a vestige now remains. Of the present range no part would carry us back earlier than the days of Archbishops Courtenay, Arundel, and Stafford, towards the close of the fourteenth or the early half of the fifteenth century. To that period their general character and heraldic adornments distinctly assign them, as will be presently shown. They doubtless rose in that age of progress and improvement on buildings of earlier date and probably far humbler proportions.

The history of this Palace during the close of the fifteenth and the first half of the sixteenth centuries is singularly obscure. Under what circumstances it passed for a time from the Archbishops, it seems impossible to trace; but it had clearly become a Royal property before Henry VIII.'s ravages upon Church lands—a fact which local historians have altogether failed to notice;—for Catherine of Arragon had it assigned for her residence, after the death of the young Prince Arthur, by her mother-in-law, Elizabeth of York. Henry VIII. clearly resided here much between the years 1528 and 1531, and, moreover, granted leases of portions of the Manor during the early years of his reign.[1] Edward VI. at the very commencement of his reign gave back the Palace to Cranmer.[2]

[1] One event occurred in the reign of that king which gives a melancholy interest to this Palace: it was the scene of the trial of that brave reformer and martyr John Frith, in 1533.

[2] The Patent Roll, 1 Edward VI. Part 2, M. 287, says that this was done "in compliance with the late King's Will;" but no mention of such wish is included in Henry VIII.'s Will as given in "Testamenta Vetusta."

Once at least Mary visited Croydon, and in 1556 held a "Secret Council" here under the presidency of her kinsman Cardinal Pole, during the absence of Philip in the Low Countries in his war with France. Elizabeth was a more frequent visitor here. She, too, held a Council here in 1567; and in 1573, in the course of her "Royal Progress," prolonged her stay here over seven days, delighting to honour Parker, her poor mother's friend and her own wise counsellor. Whitgift, too, whom she used to call her "little black husband," she visited at Croydon.

Those must have been the days of Croydon's grandeur, with its Royal visitors and its State banquets and pageants. After that it fell on evil times. Many and varied were its later vicissitudes—its fluctuations of evil report and good report. When Grindal had fallen into Court disfavour, and was, moreover, pressed to resign the Primacy on the ground of physical infirmity, he petitioned (according to Strype) to be allowed to retain Croydon House. Holding the opinion, but reversing the reasoning, of Henry VIII., who had said that, like Otford, "it standeth lowe, and is reumatike, where I could never be withoute syckenes," Grindal put forward the plea for retaining it that it was "no wholesome house, and that both he and his predecessors had found." Whitgift, his immediate successor in the See, regarded it far more favourably; for, according to his biographer, Sir George Paule, he "had ever a great affection to lie at his Mansion-house at Croydon, for the sweetness of the place, especially in summer time." Abbot, too, found asylum here during the period of his deprivation, and improved its general character by cutting down some of the superfluous trees which at that time surrounded the Palace. Sheldon would seem to have delighted in the place; he retired here during his later years, and died here. Wake must have regarded it with

ill favour, for Aubrey says that he meditated pulling down the building as "being situated in an ill air." With Laud it must have been a favourite resort, for he was the most liberal of restorers in the case of its Chapel. Happily, too, for Archbishop Herring's enjoyment, the old buildings which Wake condemned were spared; for his affection for the place seems to have exceeded even that of Whitgift: in a letter addressed to his antiquarian friend Dr Ducarel, and preserved by that kindred spirit Nichols in his 'Anecdotes of the Nineteenth Century,' Archbishop Herring says, "I love this old house."

But this feeling was clearly not transmitted to his successors, for after him Croydon Palace fell into great disfavour, and its noble buildings into consequent disrepair, till half a century of neglect reduced it to such a condition that, in the Preamble of Acts of Parliament for its sale, it was pronounced to be "in so low and unwholesome a situation," and in many respects "so incommodious and unfit for the habitation of an Archbishop of Canterbury," that it was brought to the hammer in 1780, and sold to Mr (afterwards Sir Abraham) Pitches of Streatham, for £2520;[1] and for a century these noble walls have been utilised as a bleaching factory. Yet the evident care with which the present occupants, the Oswalds, with all the machinery and flooring and planking it has been necessary to introduce, have guarded its rich carved stone-work from mutilation is above all praise.

Such, briefly and in outline, is the history of Croydon Palace as the residence of the Archbishops.

Like every Baronial Mansion of the Middle Ages—and the principal Manor-houses of Prelates, as has been shown in these pages, would certainly be classed under that

[1] With the proceeds of the sale the neighbouring estate of Addington Park, the present country residence of the Archbishops, was purchased.

head—here are to be found the Banqueting Hall, the Guard-Room, and the Chapel; to which ranges of private domestic apartments would be but subordinate adjuncts. Of the "stone house" erected by Lanfranc, not a vestige remains, nor even of any additions or restorations carried out by Peckham; of which perhaps the two narrow single-light windows which once broke the blank gable at the east end, but which disappeared in the fall of the entire eastern wall in 1830, were the last trace. There is nothing now earlier than the fourteenth century. Indeed the present Guard-Room was clearly the work of Arundel's Primacy, about 1400; while in the Hall, Stafford, about half a century later, has most prominently left his mark. Yet there are minor features in the Hall which bear witness to an earlier building. The entrance-porch on the north side, the small garden-door opposite to it in the south wall, and still more the door at the upper end leading to the old corridor and private apartments, with its foliated spandrels and mouldings,—these evidently belong to a building already existing before Stafford's, or even Arundel's time.

Though not so large as those at Lambeth and Mayfield, and even Charing, the proportions of this Hall produce an imposing effect. It is nearly 60 feet long by 38 wide, and is divided into four bays, each containing a three-light window, except that at the eastern end on the north side, over the entrance-porch, which is occupied by a room to which access was gained by a narrow newel stair. This room may have been used as the minstrel chamber, or may have led to a minstrel gallery running along the east wall; though of this not a trace remains. It must have fallen, with the entire eastern wall, in 1830, when the upper lancets, and also the screen and the three customary doors, leading to the buttery, kitchen, and

cellar, all disappeared. The windows, broad and rather low, would indicate the earlier years of the Perpendicular period; but all tracery has been ruthlessly demolished—as if crowbar or hatchet, or it may be mallet and chisel, had deliberately destroyed every vestige of elegant curve or cusp; so that only the bare mutilated mullions remain, and they are covered over with large venetian window-frames, to regulate the light and air for the bleaching and washing processes carried on within.

The roof is a striking feature of this Hall. Once clear away two or three tiers of open flooring which at present block it up, and the many coatings of whitewash with which its walls have been smeared, and its wide-spanned tie-beams of Spanish chestnut, its arched principals, unsupported by king-post or brace, with its oaken timbers open to the roof, its angel corbels bearing shields rich in heraldic blazonry, would once more combine to produce *un beau coup d'œil* of rare beauty and grandeur, and involve but little effort of the imagination to repeople this noble Hall with the picturesque groups of some medieval pageant, or to picture a State banquet in which former princes of the Church had nobles and even monarchs for their guests.

It is, too, by the wealth of heraldic devices that the beauty of this hall is greatly enhanced, for every corbel has its coat of arms; and these are in wonderful preservation, considering the vicissitudes through which the building has passed. None of them, however, carry us back beyond Archbishop Stafford. His arms occur, singly, with and without the mitre of difference, and also *per pale*, first with those of Bath and Wells, which See he had previously filled, and then with those of Canterbury; while the arms of two of his contemporary relations, Henry, Earl of Stafford, and Humphrey, Duke of Buckingham, are also here. On other corbels appear

the arms of Archbishops Laud, Juxon, and Herring, each of whom in his turn effected some alteration or restoration, yet all preserving uninjured the general character of the building.

There is one other feature of this hall which must be noticed. At the upper end lay the customary *dais*, here commonly spoken of by Ducarel and others as the *oriele;* though the usual projection beyond the line of one of the side walls known as the *oriel* window—and from which some think that the term *oriele* came to be applied to the whole of the raised *dais*—is here wanting. In the centre of this *dais* stood the stone seat, or throne, used by the Primate on State occasions, surmounted, not by a light elegant canopy as at Mayfield, but by a massive piece of stone-work, consisting of a large panel containing a shield between two angel supporters, with an angel beneath carrying in his hands a scroll, "Domine salvum fac regem." On the shield itself are the arms of Edward the Confessor, impaling the royal arms of England and France quarterly—a device generally ascribed to the pious spirit of Henry VI., who proclaimed the Confessor as England's patron saint—the whole supported by an angel bearing on a shield the Stafford *chevron*, with the mitre for difference: while in the angles formed by the projection of this structure from the wall are two shields supported by angels,—on the one the *chevron*, without the mitre of the Archbishop, and on the other the *saltire* of the See of Bath and Wells, which he had previously held; thus again fixing the date as under his Primacy. This mass of stone-work formerly projected into the hall, and apparently crushed the seat of which it had formed the canopy. It was then thrown back against the wall, and placed on a solid block of masonry, as it at present stands, by Archbishop Herring.

In the Guard-Chamber the armorial bearings on the angel corbels retain, even more than in the Hall, a freshness and sharpness of which whitewash and paint have failed to rob them. The earliest shields here are those of Archbishop Arundel,—on one his family arms appear alone, on a second impaling those of Canterbury. The Guard-Room, as it at present stands, was evidently completed by himself, though possibly begun by Courtenay, with a very important event in whose life this Palace is associated; for here in the principal Chamber (*camerâ principali*), which is conjectured to have stood on the site of this Guard-Room, he received the Pall in great solemnity in the year 1382; and it may be that, in recognition of that event, when he had obtained sanction to pull down some of the many smaller Manor-houses, which during the wars of the preceding reigns had fallen into decay, and out of the materials to repair or enlarge those of the better sort, Croydon came in for a large share of building. And a Guard-Room would be no inappropriate building to be designed by one who was half soldier, half prelate,—the more so that history connects with his name the charge of a Royal prisoner, no other than the heir-apparent and the future King of Scotland, James I., who was captured at sea when flying to France from the machinations of his uncle the Regent, Duke of Albany. In falling into the hands of English cruisers, the unhappy Prince became a prisoner, and was consigned to Pevensey Castle; but soon after, his condition was changed to that of a hostage, and he was transferred to the charge of Archbishop Courtenay, under whose chivalrous custody he lived for some years at Croydon.

The Chapel remains to be considered, and is placed last in this sketch because the present building is un-

doubtedly of later date than either the Hall or the Guard-Room; although there is documentary evidence that a Chapel was attached to the Manor-house at even an earlier period. Archbishop Peckham's Register — the oldest now remaining at Lambeth, for all anterior to his time were carried off by his predecessor Kilwardby to Rome, and have never been recovered—records Ordinations held not only in the Parish Church, but expressly "in his own Chapel," so early as 1283. Archbishop Whittlesey in 1371, and Courtenay in 1380, held them "in the Chapel of his Manor at Croydon." Courtenay, however, erected a small chapel for more private use, "towards the garden," in which he held an Ordination in 1390, besides those he held "in his principal Chapel in the Manor-house." In 1410 his successor, Arundel, held one "in his oratory," probably the private chapel Courtenay had built.[1] Chicheley, probably preferring the greater state and solemnity, held three in the Parish Church; but under Archbishop Stafford the Bishop of Rochester held one for him "in the Chapel of the Manor-house."

It was in Stafford's time that the first recorded Consecration was held here, in 1444, and that of no less noteworthy a Bishop than Reginald, or Reynold, Pecock, of St Asaph, and afterwards of Chichester. This highly gifted, learned, but eccentric man, aroused the suspicion and the indignation of the populace and of his brother Bishops; and so intense was the feeling against him, that not the most abject recantation could do more than save him from the stake. He was kept in confinement, and within three years fell a victim to hardship and deprivations in Thorney Abbey, in the Isle of Ely. His was the only consecration in Croydon Chapel

[1] This may still be seen in the private apartments between the Chapel and the Guard-room.

until the days of Cranmer, in whose Primacy no less than eight Bishops were consecrated here—the learned Miles Coverdale being one of the number. This clearly brings us within the date of the present building. Being entirely of brick, it could not have been erected before the early part of the fifteenth century; while the west window, the earliest in point of time, with its broad debased arch, originally enclosing four lights (of which only the upper portions of two are now left open), with the bald cuspless heads, would suggest the very latest years of that century, the Primacy of Morton, or of Warham. All else in the Chapel belongs to the middle of the seventeenth century, the work of Laud and Juxon. Whatever the east window may have been, it is scarcely possible to conjecture, save that it too may originally have corresponded with that at the west end; and in the ruthless demolition of the Puritan period all vestige of the piety or the art of the preceding century was destroyed. The present stucco weather-moulding, — two straight lines meeting at a very obtuse angle, — probably replaced a debased arch which imparted some grace to the seven plain-headed lights that had once been filled with rich painted glass; now all is staringly modern and cold.

Allusion has been made to the Puritan period; and Croydon, like its more imposing neighbour Lambeth Palace, felt the force of the fanatic storm which then swept over the country. Here, as at Lambeth, Archbishop Laud had done much to restore what the preceding neglect had suffered to fall into decay; and this formed one of the gravest charges against him in his memorable trial. No sooner had the Parliament attained to power than Lambeth and Croydon Palaces were sold; Croydon fell to Sir William Brereton, and so far fared better, being subject to less flagrant desecration, than

Lambeth; that Chapel was converted into a dancing-room, this was only utilised as a kitchen.[1]

The interior of the Chapel tells only of the times of Laud and Juxon. It is easy to assign to the two their respective shares in the work of restoration; for though the presence of Laud's arms must not always be accepted as proving his additions, because the pious spirit of Juxon often manifested itself in emblazoning on his own work the arms of his beloved predecessor, in the case of this Chapel, it seems safe to ascribe to Laud the Decanal stall or throne, and the first block of seats—on every end of which appear his arms impaling those of each of the successive steps of his rise, those of the Sees of St David's, Bath and Wells, London, and Canterbury, and on the reverse of the two latter those of St John's College, Oxford, and of the Deanery of Gloucester—while the block towards the east bears on either end the arms of Juxon impaling those of Hereford, London, and Canterbury. One object of interest in the Chapel remains to be noticed: in the south-west corner of the *atrium*, which is separated by a plain screen from the Chapel itself, is a small gallery—some call it a pulpit—in which local tradition says that Queen Elizabeth, during her seven days' visit to Parker, sat during divine service. It certainly seems to have belonged to the original building of the Tudor age, but a renaissance front and the arms of Laud show that it must at any rate have been restored by him.

The Chapel for some time served as an armoury for the Militia, and subsequently for a Sunday-school; it is now used as a Day-school for girls.

Such has Croydon Palace been. What shall it become?

[1] The appropriateness of such use was noticed by a contemporary pamphleteer, who says the worthy (?) knight "had terrible long teeth and a prodigious stomach."

It may not boast the high antiquity or the sacred associations of St Augustine's Monastery at Canterbury, which, forty years ago, the pious liberality of a young layman converted from a brewery into a Missionary College; yet its sister Manor-house at Mayfield, in Sussex, could boast no higher claims, and the piety of a body of devoted ladies has rescued it from ruin far more utter than Croydon, and with rare taste and lavish hand has restored it, if not to a kindred, at least to a religious use.

Who can contemplate this venerable pile—for, like Belisarius, noble even in disgrace; like Lear, kingly in his "great decay," it is venerable still, despite its degradation,—who can dwell upon its past, and think of its possible future, without asking, Will no wealthy individual now stretch out his hand to save from annihilation this noble building, so well preserved, so capable of being utilised to some high purpose? Will not the wealth of Croydon, supplemented if need be by the antiquarian sympathy of England, combine to carry out the cherished wish of the lamented Archbishop Tait, and preserve the principal portions of this range of buildings to some wise national or local use?

With only three exceptions—Canterbury, Bekesbourne, and Ford — the history of each of these old Manor-houses, in its connection with the Primacy, has been brought to a close by its transfer from the See to the Crown. And now their history only needs some short account of the circumstances and terms of those negotiations between Henry VIII. and Cranmer.

The Monasteries had already gone. Their fall had been the almost necessary result of the condition into which the majority of them had fallen. Springing out of

a spirit of fervent devotion—a longing for seclusion from the world as an aid to closer communion with Heaven; a yearning over the poor of Christ's flock, and desire to minister to their wants of body as well as soul,—these nobly designed institutions—designed to be houses of prayer, homes of piety and peace, nurseries of learning and of art, centres of education, and channels of almsgiving—had so many of them come to be hotbeds of superstition, manufactories of fraud and vice, harbours of self-indulgence and luxury, not to say of unbridled lust, that their corruptions had grown into a public scandal. While, too, the aroused consciences of the better class were becoming more and more alive to the gross and impious corruptions of the Church of Rome, of which they were the chief strongholds in the land, and to the aggressive dictation of the Court of Rome, of which they were the principal agents, to the needy and less scrupulous among the nobles and courtiers their reputed accumulation of wealth had made them objects of especial desire,—so that scarcely a voice was raised in protest against the spoliation. Their downfall was regarded not so much with indifference as with general satisfaction. Their mission for good had ceased; it was thought full time their agency for evil should cease too, and their vast wealth be applied to better uses.

Such were the thoughts and influences at work in the mind of the nation, preparing them to submit to and accept a policy presented to them under the guise of a most desirable reform, but which, on whatever grounds it may be excused, led to a most flagrant system of spoliation.

But from the days of Wicliffe the abuses of which these "Religious Houses" were the scenes had been bitterly declaimed against and denounced. Even Arundel

and Morton had inveighed against them. Erasmus made them the subject of his keen satire; Warham himself unsparingly condemned them. But then it was reform and not destruction they sought for; they would have purified and not suppressed.

As early as the days of Edward II. and Henry V. the Monasteries had been threatened: the attack, however, was then confined to such as belonged to foreign Abbeys, the wealth of which was in the hands of aliens and absentees; the grievance being that the revenues of England were thus being taken out of the country.

So too with Wolsey to some extent; for though in 1528 he swept away 40 of them, they were those of the very worst repute; and their revenues he at once appropriated to the endowment of the two noble Royal foundations at Eton and Cambridge, and then to that which was still dearer to his own heart, Christ Church, Oxford.

But the whole character of the movement was soon to change. When Thomas Crumwell had risen on Wolsey's fall, and Cranmer had succeeded Warham, a far more sweeping scheme was to be inaugurated, which the self-aggrandising spirit of the one initiated and the pliancy of the other rendered possible; but even then it was under the guise of reform. All the smaller Monasteries were to be suppressed; but their revenues, it was announced, were to be expended in founding additional Bishoprics, in promoting the advancement of learning at the Universities, the foundation and endowment of Grammar-Schools and Hospitals throughout the country. Such was the scheme with which the mind of the public was to be charmed.

Yet of the eighteen proposed Bishoprics, only six[1] were founded; and nearly all the rest of the scheme fell to the

[1] Westminster (soon to be annulled), Oxford, Peterborough, Chester, Bristol, and Gloucester.

ground. "Cranmer" (says Strype) "failed of his ends; but the King gained his:" he secured all the rest of the spoil for his own use.

This had taken place in the 27th year of Henry's reign, and the 3d of Cranmer's Primacy.

This step taken, the next was to appoint a Receiver-General of the spoils. To this end, in the same year, it was enacted that the revenues of every "Monastery, Priory, or other Religious House" which should be suppressed or dissolved, or had voluntarily (?) surrendered, should be paid into "a certayne Court, commonly to be called the Court of Thaugmentations of the Revenues of the Kinge's Crowne." But this was not enough for Henry. While the manorial and other revenues were paid into this new "Court of Augmentations," all the money, plate, jewels, and other movable property found in the Monasteries were handed over to the King's Exchequer for his private use. By this Act above £30,000 a-year, the revenue of 376 suppressed Monasteries, passed to the Treasurer of this Court of Augmentations, and a sum supposed to amount to above £100,000 came into the King's own hands. Two years later, the 29th Henry VIII., 270 more Religious houses, the largest and wealthiest in the land, were absorbed in a similar manner, and Colleges also and Chapelries and Chantries ultimately shared the same fate. Thus property representing an income of £150,000 a-year passed to the Crown; and the Manors themselves were soon bartered or gambled or given away to Court favourites and minions.

How, it may be asked, was the Church itself regarding this attack upon the Monasteries? The Monasteries had, unfortunately for them, placed themselves in a false position. They had long asserted their claim to be altogether outside and independent of the Church; they repudi-

ated and defied the authority and control of the Diocesan; they recognised no head but the Pope. The Mitred Abbot claimed equality with, and in some cases precedence of, the Bishop. Moreover, their greater wealth made them an object of jealousy, if not of envy, to the less liberally endowed parochial clergy, whom they in their turn looked down upon. Thus it came that there was but little love between the Seculars and the Regulars; and when the evil days came upon the Monasteries, the Church, in the persons of her Prelates and her Clergy, did not raise a finger to arrest the work of dissolution,—little thinking how soon they would themselves be doomed to feel the application of the same despotic and dishonest principles, and become the victims of the same injustice.

Up to this time, and even somewhat later, the King had been able to draw the distinction between Monastic property and that which belonged to the Church. But not so his Courtiers—for advisers it were an insult to call them. One of these, Sir Thomas Seymour, brother to the Duke of Somerset, a member of a family which had benefited largely by the alienation of Monastic lands, imputed to Cranmer the lack of due hospitality, as a ground for seizing and appropriating a part of the revenues of the Primacy, when, according to Ralph Morice (in his 'Anecdotes of Archbishop Cranmer'), the King thus rebuked him: "I knowe your purposes well enoughe: you have had amonge you the commodities of the Abbeis, which you have consumed, some with superfluous apparel, some at dice and cardes, and other ungratious rule, and nowe you wolde have the bishopp landes and revenewes to abuse likewise. . . . Sett your harte at reste; there shall no suche alteration be made whiles I lyve (quod the King)." But Henry's scruples were short-lived. The

royal tiger had tasted blood, and his greed must be satisfied. The proceeds of the Monasteries had disappeared in personal extravagance or gambling, or gifts to his eager minions; and he, and they too, craved for more. Soon did he forget his better resolve. The distinction disappeared from his mind—his luxuries must be supplied, his debts paid; and so the Church property followed that of the Monasteries. The Manors of the Primacy were the first to fall into the hands of that most obliging and accommodating official, the Treasurer of the Court of Augmentations. It would seem indeed that Henry had already, *vacante sede*, appropriated to himself the revenues of some Manors; and others were soon privately changing hands: for, according to Morice, "When Cranmer enterid unto his dignitie, every man aboute the Kinge made meanes to get some reversion of ferme or of other office of hym; insomoche the King hymself made meanes to hym for one or two thinges before he was consecratid, as for the ferme of Wyngham barton, &c." The Act which legalised this alienation (27 Henry VIII. c. 27) set forth the specious pretext that such a course would benefit the Church by a redistribution of Church estates: but to quote old Morice again—"The Kinge hadd nott them in his poss[ess]ion vj daies, but thei were my lorde Northes and other mennys."[1]

Such were the several steps in this iniquitous proceeding. Cranmer had been appointed to the See in 1533—the 24th year of Henry's reign. During the vacancy of the Primacy several smaller manors had already been appropriated. Within three years the rich suburban Manors of Mortlake and Wimbledon; two years after, Knole and Otford and Maidstone; again, three years

[1] Edward Lord North was Treasurer, and afterwards Chancellor, of the Court of Augmentations, and a noted trafficker in Church lands.

later, no less than twelve good Manors of the See, among them Aldyngton, Saltwood, Lyminge, with the several messuages, outlets, liberties, &c. &c., to them belonging, were transferred, under the specious form of exchange—the fairness and relative value of such exchange being conjectured from the single instance of this last group, which were represented as of the clear yearly value of £450, while those given by the King in exchange —"the site of the Abbey of Malling and all the lands attached to it, and some other smaller Manors in Surrey and Essex"—were estimated at £315 a-year, the difference of £65 being made good to the Archbishop. "Truly," suggests one very competent to form an opinion on the subject, "the King's new Monastic property must have been at rack-rent, while the Manors of the poor Archbishops rented at the lowest figure possible."

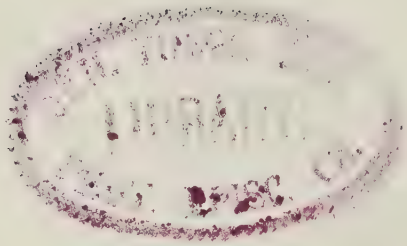
Space would not admit of our following out further this interesting investigation;[1] suffice it to say that the Archbishop has found a most zealous apologist for his share of the transaction in his old private secretary, Ralph Morice, already alluded to—who says, with much pathos, "As touching his exchanges, men ought to consider with whome he had to do, specially with suche a prince as wolde not be brydeled, nor be againste-said in any of his requeste." A testimony which confirms Dr Hook's estimate of the Archbishop's character: "Cranmer had generally a clear perception of what was right; and he had the moral courage to declare his sentiments: but whenever he was threatened he succumbed. This was the secret of the kind feeling towards him on the part of

[1] Full details of these transactions may be found in the "Patent Rolls," "Originalia," and the "Deed of Purchase and Exchange of the Augmentation Office," all preserved in the Public Record Office, to which sources the author is indebted for the above information, through the ever-ready help of Walford D. Selby, Esq.

the King." May we not add also of the King's success over him?

Thus it was brought about that the wealthy Manor-houses of the See—many of them doubtless too costly and expensive to be maintained with befitting dignity and hospitality, and even to be kept in repair—passed, one after another, to the Crown. It mattered not in what form they had originally come to the See—whether by Royal gift, in Saxon days, like Otford and Wingham and Charing; or by the piety of private individuals, like Lyminge, or Saltwood, or Maidstone; or by purchase, like Knole; or exchange, like Bekesbourne,—all—that is, all that were worth taking—were taken by the King, and the Church gained no advantage; nor, indeed, with one or two exceptions, did the avaricious and licentious courtiers to whom they passed. In many cases, the very possession of the lands seemed to bring with it a curse. Intrigue brought to them the spoil; but how often did intrigue bring their own heads to the block! And when they did live to enjoy their ill-gotten wealth, how rarely was it granted to them to pass it on to children and children's children!

The ruins of Monasteries and of these old Palaces are not without significance and instruction. They furnish a key to the deciphering a dark page in the history of the English Church; and they utter a solemn warning to those who are deluding themselves, or are being deluded, with the idea that endowments for religious objects can be diverted from their original purposes to the advantage of the State,—to say nothing of the injustice and wrong thus committed to the Church,—without bringing in some form or other dire retribution on the possessors of the spoil.



APPENDIX A.

A List of Consecrations held in Lambeth Chapel, mainly based upon Stubbs's 'Registrum Sacrum Anglicanum,' and amplified from Beatson's 'Political Index,' and other Sources.

Date	Name.	Previous Preferment.	Original See.	Translation.	Civil Offices.
1274	John Chishull	Dean of St Paul's	London	..	..
1278	William Middleton	Archdeacon of Canterbury	Norwich	..	..
,,	John Bradfield	Monk of Rochester	Rochester	..	..
1280	Oliver Sutton	Dean of Lincoln	Lincoln	..	..
1338	Richd. Bintworth or Bynteworth	Prebendary of St Paul's	London	..	Lord High Chancellor, 1339
1350	William St Leger	Archd. of Meath	Meath	..	..
,,	Reginald Brian	..	St David's	Worcester, 1352	..
1376	William Sprid-lington or Spride-lyngton	Dean of St Asaph	St Asaph	..	..
1382	Robert Bray-brooke	Dean of Salisbury	London	..	Lord High Chancellor, 1383
,,	John Fordham or Frodsham	Dean of Wells	Durham	Ely, 1388	..
1395	Edmund Stafford	..	Exeter	..	Lord High Chancellor, 1401
1427	Robert Neville	Provost of Beverley	Salisbury	Durham, 1438	..
1446	Adam Moleyns or Molins	Dean of Salisbury	Chichester	..	Lord Privy Seal
,,	Walter Hart or Lehart	Provost of Oriel College, Oxford	Norwich	..	..
1449	Richard Beauchamp	Archd. of Suffolk	Hereford	Sarum, 1450	..
1479	John Morton	Prebendary of Salisbury, Lincoln, St Paul's, and York	Ely	Canterbury, 1486	Master of the Rolls, 1475; Lord High Chancellor, 1478

Date.	Name.	Previous Preferment.	Original See.	Translation.	Civil Offices.
1489	Richard Hill	Dean of the King's Chapel	London	..	..
1493	Thomas Savage	Canon of York, Dean of the King's Chapel	Rochester	London, 1496; York, 1501	..
1494	John Blyth,	..	Salisbury	..	Master of the Rolls, 1491; Chancellor of Cambridge; & of Order of the Garter
1497	Richard Fitz-James	..	Rochester	Chichester, 1503; London, 1506	..
1504	Richard Mayew or Mayo	President of Magdalen College, Oxford	Hereford	..	..
,,	William Baron, or Barons, or Barnes	..	London	..	Master of the Rolls, 1501
,,	John Fisher	Master of Queen's College, Cambridge	Rochester	..	Chancellor of Cambridge; beheaded, 1535
1509	Thomas Skirvington of Skevington	Abbot of Waverly	Bangor	..	..
,,	Edward Vaughan	Prebendary of St Paul's	St David's	..	..
1513	Edmund Birkhead	..	St Asaph	..	..
1514	Thomas Wolsey	Dean of Hereford and York	Lincoln	York, 1514; Durham, 1523; Winchester, 1530	Lord High Chancellor, 1516
,,	William Atwater	Dean of Salisbury	Lincoln	..	..
1515	Nicolas West	Dean of Windsor	Ely	..	..
1521	John Longlands	Principal of Magdalen Hall, Oxford	Lincoln	..	..
1522	Cuthbert Tonstall or Tunstall	Dean of Salisbury	London	Durham, 1530	Master of the Rolls
1523	Richard Rawlins	Prebendary of St Paul's	St David's	..	..
1536	George Brown	Augustine Friar	Dublin	..	..
,,	Thomas Manning	..	Ipswich	..	..
,,	John Salisbury	Dean of Norwich	Thetford	Man, 1571	..
,,	Richard Sampson	Dean of Lichfield and of St Paul's	Chichester	Coventry, 1543	..
,,	William Barlow	..	St David's	Bath, 1549; Chichester, 1559	..
,,	William Rugg or Repps	Abbot of St Benedict in Hulme	Norwich	..	..
,,	Robert Parfew or Wharton	Abbot of Bermondsey	St Asaph	Hereford, 1554	..
1537	Lewis Thomas	..	Shrewsbury	..	..
,,	John Bird	..	Penreth	Bangor, 1539; Chester, 1541	..
,,	Thomas Morley or Morely	..	Marlborough	..	..
1539	John Skipp or Skypp	Archdeacon of Dorset	Hereford	..	..
1550	John Poynet	..	Rochester	Winchester, 1561	..
1551	John Hooper	..	Gloucester	Worcester, 1552	..

Date.	Name.	Previous Preferment.	Original See.	Translation.
1559	MATTHEW PARKER	Master of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, and Dean of Lincoln	Canterbury	...
,,	Richard Cox	Dean of Christchurch, Oxford	Ely	...
,,	EDMUND GRINDAL	Reg. Prof. of Divinity, Master of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge	London	York, 1570; Canterbury, 1576
,,	Rowland Meyrick	Chancellor & Canon of St David's	Bangor	...
,,	Edwin Sandys	...	Worcester	London, 1570; York, 1577
1560	Nicolas Bullingham	Archdeacon of Lincoln	Lincoln	Worcester, 1571
,,	John Jewel	...	Salisbury	...
,,	Thomas Young	Chancellor of St David's	St David's	York, 1561
,,	Richard Davies	...	St Asaph	St David's, 1561
,,	Edmund Gheast	Archd. of Canterbury	Rochester	Salisbury, 1571
,,	Gilbert Berkeley	...	Bath	...
,,	Thomas Bentham	...	Coventry	...
,,	William Alley or Atley	...	Exeter	...
,,	John Parkhurst	...	Norwich	...
1561	Robert Horne	Dean of Durham	Winchester	...
,,	Edmund Scambler	...	Peterborough	Norwich, 1585
1562	Richard Cheyney	...	Gloucester	...
1566	Hugh Jones	...	Llandaff	...
,,	Nicolas Robinson	...	Bangor	...
1569	Richard Rogers	...	Dover	...
1571	Thomas Cowper	Dean of Christchurch, Oxford	Lincoln	Winchester, 1584
,,	William Bradbridge	Dean of Salisbury	Exeter	...
1572	Edmund Freke	Dean of Salisbury	Rochester	Norwich, 1575; Worcester, 1584
1573	William Hughes	...	St Asaph	...
1575	William Blethin or Blethyn	...	Llandaff	...
1576	John Piers or Peers	Dean of Salisbury, & of Christchurch, Oxford	Rochester	Salisbury, 1577; York, 1589
,,	John Meyrick	...	Sodor & Man	...
1577	John Aylmer	Archdn. of Lincoln	London	...
,,	JOHN WHITGIFT	Dean of Lincoln	Worcester	Canterbury, 1583
1578	John Young	...	Rochester	...
1584	Thomas Godwin	Dean of Canterbury	Bath	...
,,	William Wickham	Dean of Lincoln	Lincoln	Winchester, 1595
1585	Richard Howland	Master of St John's College, Cambridge	Peterborough	...
1586	Herbert Westfaling	Canon of Windsor	Hereford	...
,,	Hugh Bellott	...	Bangor	Chester, 1595

Date.	Name.	Previous Preferment.	Original See.	Translation.
1586	Thomas Bickley	Warden of Merton College, Oxford	Chichester	...
1589	Richard Fletcher	Dean of Peterborough	Bristol	Worcester, 1593; London, 1595
,,	John Underhill	Rector of Lincoln College, Oxford	Oxford	...
1591	John Coldwell	Dean of Rochester	Salisbury	...
1593	John Still	Master of Trinity College, Cambridge	Bath	...
1594	Antony Rudd	Dean of Gloucester	St David's	...
1595	William Redman	Archd. of Canterbury	Norwich	...
1596	William Day	Dean of Windsor	Winchester	...
,,	Richard Vaughan	Archdeacon of Middlesex	Bangor	Chester, 1597; London, 1604
,,	Thomas Bilson	Prebendary of Winchester	Worcester	Winchester, 1597
,,	Antony Watson	Dean of Bristol	Chichester	...
1597	RICHARD BANCROFT	Prebendary of Westminster	London	Canterbury, 1604
1598	Godfrey Goldsbrough	Prebendary of Worcester	Gloucester	...
,,	William Cotton	Canon of St Paul's	Exeter	...
,,	Henry Cotton	...	Salisbury	...
,,	Henry Rowlands	...	Bangor	...
1600	Martin Heaton or Heton	Dean of Winchester	Ely	...
1601	Thomas Dove	Dean of Norwich	Peterborough	...
1603	Robert Bennett	Dean of Windsor	Hereford	...
,,	John Jegon	Dean of Norwich	Norwich	...
1604	John Bridges	Dean of Salisbury	Oxford	...
,,	Richard Parry	Dean of Bangor	St Asaph	...
1605	Thomas Ravis	Dean of Christchurch, Oxford	Gloucester	London, 1607
,,	William Barlow	Dean of Chester	Rochester	Lincoln, 1608
,,	Launcelot Andrewes	Dean of Westminster	Chichester	Ely, 1609; Winchester, 1619
1607	Henry Parry	Dean of Chester	Gloucester	Worcester, 1610
1608	James Montague	Dean of Worcester	Bath	Winchester, 1616
,,	Richard Neile	Dean of Westminster	Rochester	Lichfield, 1610; Lincoln, 1614; Durham, 1617; Winchester, 1628; York, 1632
1609	GEORGE ABBOT	Dean of Winchester	Lichfield	London, 1610; Canterbury, 1611
,,	Samuel Harsnett	Archdeacon of Essex	Chichester	Norwich, 1619; York, 1628
1611	Giles Thomson	Dean of Windsor	Gloucester	...
,,	John Buckridge	President of St John's College, Oxford	Rochester	Ely, 1628
,,	John King	Dean of Christchurch, Oxford	London	...
1614	John Overall	Dean of St Paul's	Lichfield	Norwich, 1618
1615	Richard Milbourne	Dean of Rochester	St David's	Carlisle, 1621

Date.	Name.	Previous Preferment.	Original See.	Translation.
1615	Robert Abbott	Master of Balliol College, Oxford	Salisbury	...
1616	Thomas Morton	Dean of Winchester	Chester	Lichfield, 1619; Durham, 1632
,,	Arthur Lake	Dean of Worcester, and Master of St Cross	Bath	...
,,	Lewis Bayly	...	Bangor	...
1617	Nicholas Felton	...	Bristol	Ely, 1619
,,	George Monteigne	Dean of Westminster	Lincoln	London, 1621; Durham, 1628; York, 1628
1618	Martin Fotherby	...	Salisbury	...
,,	George Carleton	...	Llandaff	Chichester, 1619
1619	John Bridgman	...	Chester	...
,,	John Howson	...	Oxford	Durham, 1628
,,	Rowland Searchfield	...	Bristol	...
,,	Theophilus Field	...	Llandaff	St David's, 1627; Hereford, 1635
1620	Robert Townson	Dean of Westminster	Salisbury	...
1623	Robert Wright	...	Bristol	Lichfield, 1632
1624	John Hanmer	...	St Asaph	...
1625	Godfrey Goodman	Dean of Rochester	Gloucester	...
1628	Richard Corbett	Dean of Christchurch	Oxford	Norwich, 1632
1630	John Bowle	Dean of Salisbury	Rochester	...
1632	David Dolben	...	Bangor	...
,,	John Bancroft	...	Oxford	...
1633	Augustine Lindsell	Dean of Lichfield	Peterborough	Hereford, 1634
,,	George Coke or Cook	...	Bristol	Hereford, 1636
,,	William Juxon[1]	Dean of Worcester	London	Canterbury, 1660
1634	Edmund Griffith	Dean of Bangor	Bangor	...
,,	Francis Dee	Dean of Chichester	Peterborough	...
1635	Matthew Wren	Dean of Windsor	Hereford	Norwich, 1635; Ely, 1638
1636	Roger Mainwaring	Dean of Worcester	St David's	...
1637	Robert Skinner	...	Bristol	Oxford, 1641; Worcester, 1663
1638	John Warner	Dean of Lichfield	Rochester	...
,,	Brian Duppa	Dean of Christchurch, Oxford	Chichester	Salisbury, 1641; Winchester, 1660
1639	John Towers	D. of Peterborough	Peterborough	...
1640	Morgan Owen	...	Llandaff	...
1661	John Hackett	Canon of St Paul's	Lichfield	...
1662	Herbert Croft	Dean of Hereford	Hereford	...
,,	Seth Ward	Dean of Exeter	Exeter	Salisbury, 1667
1663	Joseph Henshaw	Dean of Chichester	Peterborough	...
,,	William Paul	Dean of Lichfield	Oxford	...

[1] Elected to the See of Hereford; but before he was consecrated, translated to that of London. He was the only Prelate who held the office of Lord High Treasurer (1634) since the reign of Edward IV.

Date.	Name.	Previous Preferment.	Original See.	Translation.
1666	Robert Morgan	Archd. of Merioneth	Bangor	...
,,	John Dolben	Dean of Westminster	Rochester	York, 1683
1667	Francis Davies	Archd. of Llandaff	Llandaff	...
,,	Henry Glemham	Dean of Bristol	St Asaph	...
,,	Antony Sparrow	Archd. of Sudbury	Exeter	Norwich, 1676
1670	Peter Gunning	Master of St John's College, Cambridge	Chichester	Ely, 1675
,,	Robert Creighton	Dean of Wells	Bath	...
1671	Thomas Wood	Dean of Lichfield	Lichfield	...
,,	Nathaniel Crewe	Dean of Chichester	Oxford	Durham, 1674
1672	John Pritchett	...	Gloucester	...
1673	John Pearson	...	Chester	...
,,	Peter Mews	Dean of Rochester	Bath	Winchester, 1684
1674	Henry Compton	...	Oxford	London, 1675
1675	Ralph Brideoake	Dean of Salisbury	Chichester	...
,,	William Lloyd	...	Llandaff	Peterboro', 1679; Norwich, 1685
1676	Thomas Lamplugh	Dean of Rochester	Exeter	York, 1688
1679	William Gulston	...	Bristol	...
,,	William Beaw	...	Llandaff	...
1680	William Lloyd	Dean of Bangor	St Asaph	Lichfield, 1692; Worcester, 1699
1683	Francis Turner	Dean of Windsor	Rochester	Ely, 1684
,,	Laurence Womock or Womach	Archd. of Suffolk	St David's	...
1684	Thomas Spratt	Dean of Westminster	Rochester	...
1685	Thomas Ken	...	Bath	...
,,	Baptist Levinz	...	Sodor & Man	...
,,	Thomas White	Archdeacon of Northampton	Peterborough	...
,,	Jonathan Trelawney, Bart.	...	Bristol	Exeter, 1689; Winchester, 1707
1686	John Lloyd	Principal of Jesus College, Oxford	St David's	...
,,	Samuel Parker	Archd. of Canterbury	Oxford	...
,,	Thomas Cartwright	...	Chester	...
1687	Thomas Watson	...	St David's	...
1688	Timothy Hall	...	Oxford	...
1692	THOMAS TENISON	...	Lincoln	Canterbury, 1695
1695	James Gardiner	...	Lincoln	...
1696	John Williams	...	Chichester	...
1699	William Talbot	Dean of Worcester	Oxford	Sarum, 1715; Durham, 1721
1702	John Evans	...	Bangor	Meath, 1715
,,	William Nicholson	...	Carlisle	Derry, 1718; Cashel, 1727
1703	George Hooper	Dean of Canterbury	St Asaph	Bath, 1704
1704	William Beveridge	Archd. of Colchester	St Asaph	...
1705	George Bull	Archd. of Llandaff	St David's	...
,,	WILLIAM WAKE	Dean of Exeter	Lincoln	Canterbury, 1716
1706	John Tyler	Dean of Hereford	Llandaff	...
1708	Offspring Blackall	...	Exeter	...

Date.	Name.	Previous Preferment.	Original See.	Translation.
1708	Charles Trimnell	...	Norwich	Winchester, 1721
,,	William Fleetwood	...	St Asaph	Ely, 1714
1709	Thomas Manningham	Dean of Windsor	Chichester	...
1710	John Robinson	Dean of Windsor [1]	Bristol	London, 1714
,,	Philip Bisse	...	St David's	Hereford, 1713
1713	Adam Ottley	Archdeacon of Salop	St David's	...
,,	Francis Atterbury	Dean of Christchurch, Oxford	Rochester	...
1714	George Smalridge	Dean of Christchurch, Oxford	Bristol	...
1715	Richard Willis	Dean of Lincoln	Gloucester	Salisbury, 1721 Winchester, 1723
,,	John Wynne	Principal of Jesus College, Oxford	St Asaph	Bath, 1727
,,	JOHN POTTER	...	Oxford	Canterbury, 1737
1717	Edward Chandler	...	Lichfield	Durham, 1730
1718	Samuel Bradford	...	Carlisle	Rochester, 1723
,,	White Kennett	D. of Peterborough	Peterborough	...
1719	Hugh Boulter	Archd. of Surrey	Bristol	Armagh, 1724
1721	Thomas Greene	Archdeacon of Canterbury	Norwich	Ely, 1723
,,	Richard Reynolds	D. of Peterborough	Bangor	Lincoln, 1723
,,	Joseph Wilcocks	Preb. of Westminster	Gloucester	Rochester, 1731
1722	Thomas Bowers	Archd. of Canterbury	Chichester	...
1723	John Waugh	Dean of Gloucester	Carlisle	...
,,	John Leng	...	Norwich	...
1724	Henry Egerton	...	Hereford	...
,,	Richard Smallbrooke	...	St David's	Lichfield, 1731
,,	Edward Waddington	...	Chichester	...
,,	William Bradshaw	Dean of Christchurch, Oxford	Bristol	...
,,	Stephen Weston	...	Exeter	...
1725	Robert Clavering	...	Llandaff	Peterborough, 1729
1727	Francis Hare	Dean of Worcester	St Asaph	Chichester, 1731
1728	Thomas Sherlock	Dean of Chichester	Bangor	Salisbury, 1734; London, 1748
1729	John Harris	...	Llandaff	...
1732	Nicolas Claggett	Dean of Rochester	St David's	Exeter, 1742
,,	Thomas Tanner	...	St Asaph	...
1735	Martin Benson	...	Gloucester	...
,,	THOMAS SECKER	...	Bristol	Oxford, 1737; Canterbury, 1758
,,	George Fleming, Bart.	Dean of Carlisle	Carlisle	...
1736	Isaac Maddox	Dean of Wells	St Asaph	Worcester, 1743
1737	Thomas Gooch	...	Bristol	Norwich, 1738; Ely, 1748
1738	THOS. HERRING	Dean of Rochester	Bangor	York, 1743; Canterbury, 1747

[1] Lord Privy Seal, 1711.

Date.	Name.	Previous Preferment.	Original See.	Translation.
1738	Joseph Butler	Preacher at the Rolls Chapel	Bristol	Durham, 1750
1739	Matthias Mawson	Master of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge	Llandaff	Chichester, 1740; Ely, 1754
1740	John Gilbert	Dean of Exeter	Llandaff	Salisbury, 1749; York, 1757
1743	Edward Willes	Dean of Lincoln	St David's	Bath, 1743
,,	MATTHEW HUTTON	...	Bangor	York, 1747; Canterbury, 1757
1744	John Thomas	...	Lincoln	Salisbury, 1761
,,	Samuel Lisle	Archdeacon of Canterbury	St Asaph	Norwich, 1748
,,	Richard Trevor	...	St David's	Durham, 1752
1746	James Beauclerk (Lord)	...	Hereford	...
1747	George Lavington	...	Exeter	...
,,	John Thomas	...	Peterborough	Salisbury, 1757; Winchester, 1761
,,	Richard Osbaldeston	Dean of York	Carlisle	London, 1762
1749	Thomas Hayter	...	Norwich	London, 1761
1750	FREDERICK CORNWALLIS	Dean of St Paul's	Lichfield	Canterbury, 1768
,,	John Conybeare	Dean of Christchurch, Oxford	Bristol	...
1752	James Johnson	...	Gloucester	Worcester, 1759
1753	Antony Ellis	...	St David's	...
1754	William Ashburnham, Bart.	Dean of Chichester	Chichester	...
1755	Richard Newcome	...	Llandaff	St Asaph, 1761
1756	John Hume	...	Bristol	Oxford, 1758; Salisbury, 1766
,,	John Egerton	Dean of Hereford	Bangor	Lichfield, 1768; Durham, 1771
1757	Richard Terrick	...	Peterborough	London, 1764
1760	William Warburton	Dean of Bristol	Gloucester	...
1761	Samuel Squire	Dean of Bristol	St David's	...
,,	John Ewer	...	Llandaff	Bangor, 1769
,,	John Green	Dean of Lincoln	Lincoln	...
,,	Thomas Newton	Dean of St Paul's	Bristol	...
1762	Frederick Keppel	...	Exeter, & Dean of Windsor in 1766	...
1764	Robert Lambe	D. of Peterborough	Peterborough	...
1766	Robert Lowth	...	St David's	Oxford, 1766; London, 1777
,,	Charles Moss	Archd. of Colchester	St David's	Bath & Wells, 1774
1769	Jonathan Shipley	Dean of Winchester	Llandaff	St Asaph, 1769
,,	Shute Barrington	...	Llandaff	Salisbury, 1782; Durham, 1791
,,	John Hinchcliffe	Master of Trinity College, Cambridge	Peterborough	...

Date.	Name.	Previous Preferment.	Original See.	Translation.
1771	Brownlow North	Dean of Canterbury	Lichfield	Worcester, 1774; Winchester, 1781
1774	James Yorke	Dean of Lincoln	St David's	Gloucester, 1779; Ely, 1781
,,	John Thomas	Dean of Westminster	Rochester	...
1775	Richard Hurd	Master of the Temple	Lichfield	Worcester, 1781
,,	JOHN MOORE	Dean of Canterbury	Bangor	Canterbury, 1783
1777	John Butler	Archd. of Surrey	Oxford	Hereford, 1788
1778	John Ross	Prebend. of Durham	Exeter	...
1779	Thomas Thurlow	Dean of Rochester	Lincoln	Durham, 1787
,,	John Warren	Archd. of Worcester	St David's	Bangor, 1783
1781	James Cornwallis	Dean of Durham	Lichfield	...
,,	Samuel Hallifax	...	Gloucester	St Asaph, 1789
1782	Lewis Bagot	Dean of Christchurch, Oxford	Bristol	Norwich, 1783; St Asaph, 1790
,,	Richard Watson	Reg. Prof. of Divinity, Cambridge, and Archdeacon of Ely	Llandaff	...
1783	Edward Smallwell	...	St David's	Oxford, 1788
,,	Christopher Wilson	...	Bristol	...
1787	George Pretyman (Tomline)	Dean of St Paul's (held with the B'pric)	Lincoln	Winchester, 1820
,,	Charles Inglis	...	Nova Scotia	...
,,	John Harley (Hon.)	Dean of Windsor	Hereford	...
1788	Samuel Horsley	Preb. of Gloucester	St David's	Rochester, 1793; St Asaph, 1802
1789	Richard Beadon	Archdeacon of London	Gloucester	Bath & Wells, 1802
1790	George Horne	Pres. of Mag. Coll., Oxford, Dean of Canterbury	Norwich	...
,,	James Madison	...	Virginia	...
1792	CHARLES MANNERS SUTTON	D. of Peterborough, & of Windsor in 1794	Norwich	Canterbury, 1805
,,	Spencer Madan	Canon of Lichfield	Bristol	Peterborough, 1792
,,	William Buller	Dean of Canterbury	Exeter	...
1793	Jacob Mountain	...	Quebec	...
1794	William Stuart (Hon.)	Canon of Christchurch, Oxford	St David's	Armagh, 1800
,,	Henry Reginald Courtenay	...	Bristol	Exeter, 1797
1797	Ffolliott Herbert Walker Cornewall	Dean of Canterbury	Bristol	Hereford, 1803; Worcester, 1808
1798	John Buckner	...	Chichester	...
1799	John Randolph	Reg. Prof. Divinity, Oxford	Oxford	Bangor, 1807; London, 1809
1801	George Murray (Lord)	...	St David's	,,
1802	Geo. Isaac Huntingford	Warden of Winchester College	Gloucester	Hereford, 1815
,,	Thomas Dampier	...	Rochester	Ely, 1808

Date.	Name.	Previous Preferment.	Original See.	Translation.
1803	George Pelham (Hon.)	...	Bristol	Exeter, 1807; Lincoln, 1820
,,	Thomas Burgess	...	St David's	Salisbury, 1825
,,	John Fisher	Archd. of Exeter	Exeter	Salisbury, 1807
1805	Henry Bathurst	...	Norwich	...
1807	Charles Moss	...	Oxford	...
,,	John Luxmoore	Dean of Gloucester	Bristol	Hereford, 1808; St Asaph, 1815
,,	William Lort Mansel	...	Bristol	...
1809	Walker King	...	Rochester	...
1812	William Jackson	Canon of Christchurch, Oxford	Oxford	..
1813	William Howley	Reg. Prof. of Divinity, Oxford	London	Canterbury, 1828
,,	John Parsons	Master of Balliol College, Oxford	Peterborough	..
1814	Thomas Fanshaw Middleton	Archd. of Huntingdon	Calcutta	...
1815	Henry Ryder (Hon.)	Dean of Windsor	Gloucester	Lichfield, 1824
1816	Edward Legge (Hon.)	Warden of All Souls, Oxford	Oxford	...
,,	Robert Stanser	...	Nova Scotia	...
,,	Herbert Marsh	Marg. Prof. Div., Camb.	Llandaff	Peterborough, 1819
1819	Wm. Van Mildert	Reg. Prof. Div., Oxford	Llandaff	Durham, 1826
1820	John Kaye	Master of Christ's Coll. and Reg. Prof. of Divinity, Cambridge	Bristol	Lincoln, 1827
,,	William Carey	...	Exeter	St Asaph, 1830
1823	Reginald Heber	Preacher at Lincoln's Inn	Calcutta	...
1824	Christopher Bethell	...	Gloucester	Exeter, 1830; Bangor, 1830
,,	Robert James Carr	...	Chichester	Worcester, 1831
,,	Wm. Hart Coleridge	...	Barbadoes	...
,,	Christopher Lipscomb	...	Jamaica	...
1825	John Inglis	...	Nova Scotia	...
,,	John B. Jenkinson	...	St David's	...
1826	Charles James Stewart	...	Quebec	...
,,	Charles Richard Sumner	...	Llandaff	Winchester, 1827
1827	Charles Lloyd	Reg. Prof. of Div., Oxford	Oxford	...
,,	Robert Gray	...	Bristol	...
,,	John Thomas James	...	Calcutta	...
,,	Hugh Percy	Dean of Canterbury	Rochester	Carlisle, 1827

Date.	Name.	Previous Preferment.	Original See.	Translation.
1828	Edward Copleston	Provost of Oriel College, Oxford, and Dean of Chester	Llandaff	...
1829	John Matthias Turner	...	Calcutta	...
,,	Richard Bagot	...	Oxford	Bath & Wells, 1845
1830	James Henry Monk	D. of Peterborough	Gloucester	Bristol, united in 1836
1831	Henry Phillpotts	...	Exeter	...
,,	Edward Maltby	...	Chichester	Durham, 1836
1832	Daniel Wilson	...	Calcutta	...
,,	Edward Grey	Dean of Hereford	Hereford	...
1834	Joseph Allen	...	Bristol	Ely, 1836
1835	Daniel Corrie	Archd. of Calcutta	Madras	...
1836	George Jehoshaphat Mountain	...	Montreal	Quebec, 1850
,,	William Grant Broughton	Archd. of New South Wales	Australia	Title changed to Sydney, 1847
,,	Samuel Butler	...	Lichfield	...
,,	William Otter	Principal of King's College, London	Chichester	...
1837	Edward Denison	...	Sarum	...
,,	Edward Stanley	...	Norwich	...
,,	Thomas Musgrave	...	Hereford	York, 1847
,,	Thomas Carr	Archd. of Bombay	Bombay	...
,,	George John T. Spencer	...	Madras	...
1838	James Bowstead	...	Sodor & Man	Lichfield, 1840
1839	George Davys	Dean of Chester	Peterborough	...
,,	Aubrey George Spencer	...	Newfoundland	Jamaica, 1843
,,	John Strachan	Archd. of Toronto	Toronto	...
1840	Connop Thirlwall	...	St David's	...
,,	Philip Nicholas Shuttleworth	Warden of New College, Oxford	Chichester	...
1841	George Augustus Selwyn	...	New Zealand	Lichfield and Coventry, 1867
,,	Michael Sol. Alexander	...	Jerusalem	...
1842	Ashurst Turner Gilbert	Princip. of Brasenose College, Oxford	Chichester	...
1843	John Lonsdale	Principal of King's College, London	Lichfield	...
1844	Edward Feild	...	Newfoundland	...
1845	Thomas Turton	Dean of Westminster	Ely	...
,,	John Medley	...	Fredericton	...
,,	John Chapman	...	Colombo	...
,,	Samuel Wilberforce	Archd. of Surrey, and Dean of Westminster	Oxford	Winchester, 1870
1846	Samuel Gobat	...	Jerusalem	...
1848	Renn Dickson Hampden	Regius Professor of Divinity, Oxford	Hereford	...
1849	Samuel Hinds	...	Norwich	...

Date.	Name.	Previous Preferment.	Original See.	Translation.
1849	Alfred Olivant	Regius Professor of Divinity, Camb.	Llandaff	...
,,	Thomas Dealtry	Archd. of Calcutta	Madras	...
1851	Hibbert Binney	...	Nova Scotia	...
,,	John Harding	...	Bombay	...
1852	Owen Emeric Vidal	...	Sierra Leone	...
1854	Walter Kerr Hamilton	...	Salisbury	...
,,	Francis Barker	...	Sydney	...
,,	Vincent William Ryan	...	Mauritius	...
1856	Reginald Courtenay	...	Kingston	...
,,	Charles Baring	...	Gloucester and Bristol	Durham, 1861
,,	Henry J. C. Harper	...	Christchurch, New Zealand	...
1857	Matthew Blagden Hale	Archd. of Adelaide	Perth, Australia	Brisbane, 1875
,,	John Bowen	...	Sierra Leone	...
,,	Benjamin Cronyn	...	Huron, Canada	...
1858	Stephen Gordon Rigaud	...	Antigua	...
1860	Edward Hyndman Beccles	...	Sierra Leone	...
1861	Frederick Gell	...	Madras	...
,,	Charles Caulfield	...	Nassau	...
,,	Thomas Nettleship Staley	...	Honolulu	...
,,	William Thompson	Provost of Queen's College, Oxford	Gloucester and Bristol	York, 1865
1862	Thomas Earle Welby	Archd. of Capetown	St Helena	...
1863	Addington Robert Peel Venables	...	Nassau	...
1865	Robert Machray	...	Rupert's Land	...
1869	Frederick Temple	...	Exeter	...
,,	Arthur Charles Hervey (Lord)	Archdeacon of Sudbury	Bath & Wells	...
1870	Edward Parry	Archd. of Canterbury	Suff. of Dover	...
1871	Hugh Willoughby Jermyn	Archd. of St Christopher's, West Indies	Colombo	Brechin, 1876
1872	Alfred Willis	...	Honolulu	...
1881	Geo. Fred. Hose	Archd. of Singapore	Singapore	...

N.B.—In many cases the appointment which appears under the head of "Previous Preferment" was really held *in commendam* conjointly with one of the less richly endowed Sees.

APPENDIX B.

THE AMERICAN ALMS-BASIN.

See Page 296.

THE following description of the alms-basin, taken from an American paper, is given in Tucker's 'Memoir of the Life of Bishop Selwyn,' vol. ii. p. 303, note:—

"In the centre is the hemisphere, showing the Atlantic Ocean, with the Old World on the East of it, and the New World on the West. A scroll on the ocean bears the inscription, which expresses the spirit of the gift: 'ORBIS VETERI NOVUS, OCCIDENS ORIENTI, FILIA MATRI.' At the South Pole is the date of the Bishop's visit (1871). In the upper part of the hemisphere is a circular chased medallion, which covers nearly the whole of Great Britain, and bears a ship, typical of the Church, having the Cross at its prow, the Labarum on its sail, the Pastoral Staff of the Apostolic Episcopate at its mainmast, upheld by two ropes on either side for the other two orders of Priests and Deacons; and 'S. S.' on the rudder, for the 'Sacred Scriptures.' This ship is leaving England, and is headed towards the New World,

indicating that our Church received its existence from the Catholic Church through the Church of England.

"Outside of this hemisphere is a band about an inch wide, with the names of the six undisputed General Councils of the ancient Church, separated from one another by six hemispheres of lapis-lazuli. As the word 'Catholic' signifies 'all the world over,' so this band runs all round the globe.

"From this band, on the outside, spring twelve oak-leaves, and between them are twelve twigs, each bearing three acorns with burnished kernels. This use of the English oak sets forth the English Church growing outwards, and carrying her Catholicity with her wherever she goes, in every direction. The *twelve* is the number of Apostolic fulness and perfection, and the *three* is reference to the doctrine of the Trinity. From behind the oak-leaves and acorns spring alternate maple-leaves and palmetto-leaves, the former symbolising the North, and the latter the South,—thus representing the historical truth that both parts of our American Church are the outgrowth of the Church of England.

"The rim bears the inscription, 'It is more blessed to give than to receive.' It begins and ends at a jewelled cross, composed of five amethysts, four topazes, eight pearls, and eight small garnets, all clustered within a circle, the cross thus itself forming a crown of glory. The words are divided by large stones more than an inch in diameter. As they refer not to the faith, but to gifts, which are of infinite variety, no two are alike. They are all (with one exception) American stones, the one exception being a species of *praise* from New Zealand, which was found in a lapidary's shop in Philadelphia. As Bishop Selwyn has done more than any other one man to organise the system of the Colonial Episcopate, that

piece of New Zealand stone was secured to be placed *first* in the series.

"Outside the inscription is a very bold cable moulding, the finish of which shows that it is a threefold cord, not easily broken. This means the three Orders of the Apostolic Ministry, one strand being burnished bright to represent the Episcopate, the next under it having twelve cross threads representing the Priesthood, and the next below that having seven longitudinal threads, signifying the Diaconate, the original number of the Deacons being seven. Outside this cable moulding, again, is a margin of leaves all growing outward, showing a vigorous outward growth of the Church all the world over.

"On the under-side of the rim is a plain Latin inscription, more specifically detailing the circumstances of the occasion which called forth this gift from the American to the English Church.

"It runs thus :—

"'✠ Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ matri, per manus Apostolicas reverendissimi Georgii Augusti Selwyn, Dei gratia Episcopi Lichfieldensis, pacis et benevolentiæ internuncii, ejusdemque auctoris, hoc pietatis testimonium filii Americani dederunt.' ✠

"On the case there is a circular silver plate; in the centre is a shield bearing the Union-Jack and the American arms quartered upon a cross (shaded gules), and with a dove for a crest, whose rays of light and heat fill the circle; meaning that the true unity of England and America is a spiritual unity in maintaining the doctrines of the Cross of Christ."

The circumstances of the presentation are thus described in the 'Guardian' newspaper of July 10, 1872 :—

"On Wednesday, July 2, 1872, the 171st anniversary

of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts was celebrated at St Paul's Cathedral. The Prolocutor and the members of the Southern Convocation attended as a mark of respect to the Church of the United States, whose gift of a silver alms-basin was to be formally accepted by the Archbishop. Amongst those present were—The Bishop of Ohio, the Rev. Dr Hall, rector of Holy Trinity, Brooklyn, New York; the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of London, Winchester, Oxford, Lichfield, Ely, Chichester, Rochester, Lincoln, Llandaff, Gloucester, Hereford, St Asaph, the Deans of St Paul's and Westminster, &c. Prior to the celebration of the Holy Communion, the Bishop of Lichfield, in presenting the alms-basin, read an address directed to the Most Rev. the Archbishops and the Right Rev. the Bishops of the Church of England as follows:—

"Most Reverend and Beloved Fathers and Brethren,—As members of the Daughter Church in America we venture to approach you as the representatives of our dear Mother Church of England, for the purpose of presenting through the kind offices of one of your number, the Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Lichfield, most honoured and beloved, a slight token of the love and gratitude which we can never cease to cherish towards the heads and all the members of that branch of the Church Catholic from which we are descended, and to which we have been 'indebted,' first, 'for a long continuance of nursing, care, and protection,' and, in later years, for manifold tokens of sympathy and affectionate regard.

"Among the many tokens of sympathy and regard which have made our dear Mother Church of England seem so very near to us in the bonds of love, none have been more grateful to our hearts—none, we believe, more useful to our branch of the Church—than the visit of the Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Lichfield, at the time of the meeting of our late General Convention at Baltimore in October 1871.

"Accompanied by his chaplain and by several highly esteemed presbyters, he took part in the opening services of our General Convention, and he afterwards addressed each of the two Houses separately on occasion of being received by them and on taking leave of them. He preached before the Convention and before the General Missionary Society, and at the consecration of one of our Bishops, making also numerous addresses for different religious and benevolent objects. And these ministrations, everywhere most impressive and most welcome, he kindly extended to many of our chief cities in different parts of the country.

"As we have to request of the Lord Bishop of Lichfield that he will do us the favour to present this communication to the Archbishops and Bishops, we dare not trust ourselves to say more than that every word spoken by his lordship and by those who immediately accompanied him was spoken in the interests of unity and peace,—was fitted to lift up and animate our hearts, and to promote the great and holy objects to which his life has been from the first so conspicuously devoted.

"It was generally felt that such a visit could not be allowed by us to pass away without some permanent memorial, however slight, which should express at once the veneration, affection, and gratitude cherished by the Church in this country toward him personally, and the love which, in consequence of his happy visit, warmed our hearts more than ever towards our dear and honoured Mother Church of England.

"It was his own desire, expressed when the subject was mentioned, that whatever testimonial might be proposed should be addressed, not exclusively to him, but to the Archbishops and Bishops collectively, to be placed, when presented by him, in the keeping of his Grace the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury and his successors, for use on such occasions as might be deemed appropriate, in the chapel at Lambeth.

"In carrying out this design we would most respectfully and affectionately present by the hands of the Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Lichfield the accompanying '*alms-basin*,' as a slight token of our love for him and gratitude for his late visit, and at

the same time of our veneration for, and attachment to yourselves, most rev. and right rev. fathers and brethren, and to the Church over which you so worthily preside.

"Beseeching Almighty God that through His great favour and blessing our two branches of the One Holy Catholic Church may ever remain united, as in a common faith, so also in the closest bonds of fraternal sympathy and fellowship, and that between our two nations peace and friendship may be continued to the end of time,—We subscribe ourselves most faithfully and affectionately, your brethren and servants in the Lord, HORATIO POTTER, Bishop of New York; SAMUEL A. M'COSKRY, Bishop of Michigan; WALTER AYRAULT, Priest of Diocese of Central New York; WILLIAM WELSH, Lay Deputy of Diocese of Pennsylvania, Committee in behalf of both Houses of Convention."

The Archbishop of Canterbury, on receiving the gift, said:—

"In virtue of my office, I am commissioned on this occasion to represent the Church of England. I receive this offering of love from our sister Church beyond the Atlantic, and I beg all of you who are here present, and all Christian people, to unite in your prayers to Almighty God that the richest blessings of His Holy Spirit may descend upon our brethren who thus express to us their Christian love; that for ages to come these two Churches, and these two great nations, united in one worship of one Lord, in one faith, as they are sprung from one blood, may be the instruments, under the protection of our gracious Redeemer, of spreading His Gospel throughout the world, and securing the blessings of Christian civilisation for the human race."

APPENDIX C.

THE ARMORIAL BEARINGS OF THE ARCHBISHOPS OF CANTERBURY.

HERALDRY is so essential a part of History that a brief account of the armorial bearings of the successive Archbishops of Canterbury cannot but be regarded as a fitting adjunct to a History of Lambeth Palace; the more so that the subject accidentally claims a special affinity to the place, from the fact that among the valuable manuscripts of the Library is a small volume (No. 555) written on vellum and duly emblazoned, entitled, "*Nomina, insignia, etymologiæ, insigniumque descriptiones uniuscujusque senti pertinentis ad singulum Cantuariensem Archiepiscopum a Conquestu,*" to which Dr Todd, in his Catalogue of the Manuscripts, adds the following note, "*a Lanfranco ad Johannem Moore pulcherrimè scripta et depicta; inchoata tempore Johannis Whitgift Archiepiscopi.*"

Saxons, no doubt, and even Britons, adopted emblems of an armorial character; but their introduction, as a hereditary system, seems to belong to the later days of Norman chivalry; and though for some years the adoption of "cognisances" was somewhat arbitrary and capricious, yet, cherished by the Crusades abroad and Tournaments at home, it gradually assumed a more systematic character, and was in its zenith in the reign of Edward

III.; not that it was classified and organised as "a science" and "a rule," until Richard III. established the Heralds' College with its executive and judicial functions.

To the prince, and noble, and knight, armorial bearings were a natural and fitting appendage of rank or honour; but it may be less easy to see why they should be assigned to Prelates, who by their very office were "men of peace," and to whom, as such, arms, real or emblematic, would alike seem to be foreign and inappropriate. Yet, as we have seen in the preceding pages, in medieval times Prelates were called upon to fill the highest secular offices in the State, and thereby incurred such dangers and risks that a guard-room and "men at arms" formed almost necessarily a part of the *entourage* of a Bishop's Palace; while their social position, ranking as they did among the nobles of the land, seemed to demand for them no less the emblems of rank and authority which were assigned to their compeers.

If they could not, as they often could, lay claim to some well-won and highly prized blazonry of the family to which they belonged, accommodating chroniclers and romancers were quite ready to invent such as would supply the want. To such a source, no doubt, may be traced much of the Episcopal blazonry anterior to the days of the Tudors.

In the following pages the "Lambeth MS."—*i.e.*, the English portion of it—is adopted as the text, and the antique orthography closely retained; while any variations given by Parker or others are introduced as notes.

The arms assigned to the See of Canterbury, which appear on the 1st page, are: "*Jupiter*[1] (*azure*) a staff in pale *sol*[1] (*or*), thereon a cross patté *pearled*[1] (*argent*) sur-

[1] These are the only instances in the Volume in which the "Planetary" or "Precious-stone" nomenclature is adopted—systems invented by flattering chroniclers and heralds, the former to designate princes, and the latter nobles.

mounted with a pall of the last, and charged with four like crosses *sable*,"—and bear direct reference to Augustine, with whom the Pall from Rome made its first appearance in England.

Those of Augustine himself follow next—"*sable*, a cross, and in the 2d quarter a lily *argent*, in the 1st quarter the See of Canterbury."

The series, as the title states, begins with the Conquest, no intermediate shields being given. Hasted, in his 'History of Kent' (vol. xii. p. 282), without giving his authority, says that Archbishop Cuthbert, A.D. 741-758, who was of an illustrious Saxon family, had "*argent* on a fess *gules* three cross crosslets fitché of the first."

LANFRANC, A.D. 1070-1089.

Per saltier *azure* and *gules*, on a beasant,[1] a cross bootonye *or*.

[1] Hasted says, "Girony *gules* and *azure*, on a globe or cross potent *or*." Parker, "on a mound ensigned with a cross botonée."

ANSELM, A.D. 1093-1109.

Argent, a plaine cross *sable* beetwene 12 guttes *gules*.[1]

[1] Parker, "*Argent*, guttée de sang, a cross patée throughout *sable*."

RALPH, RADULPH, or RODULPH, (De Turbine), A.D. 1114-1122.

Sable, a cross croste aboout[1] and fixed on base *argent*.

[1] Parker, "a patriarchal cross."

WILLIAM DE CURBELLIO, or DE CORBEUIL, CORBOIL, A.D. 1122-1136.

Azure, a bende wavy, and on the sinister chefe a cross formy *argent*.[1]

[1] Parker, "a plain cross."

THEOBALD, A.D. 1138-1161.
Or, too barrs *azure*,[1] a chefe indented *gules*.

[1] Parker, "Barrée of six *or* and *azure*."

THOMAS A-BECKET, A.D. 1162-1170.
Argent, three Cornishe choughes proper.

RICHARD OF DOVER, A.D. 1174-1184.
Azure, three mullettes beetwene too cotizes[1] *argent*.

[1] Parker, "between two bendlets."

BALDWIN, A.D. 1184-1190.
Gules, two bendes[1] and a bordure *argent*.

[1] Parker, "two bendlets."

REGINALD FITZ JOCELYN, A.D. 1191.
Or, a fess double indented, to the midst a cross formye fixed *gules*.

[1] Parker, "*Argent*, a fess indentée, on the top of the fess a cross patée conjoined *gules*."

HUBERT WALTER, A.D. 1193-1205.
Quarterlye *azure* and *argent*, a plain cross *or*, on the first and last quarters five mulletts[1] *argent*, on the second and third an eagle displaid *sable*.

[1] Parker, "five etoiles in saltire."

STEPHEN LANGTON, A.D. 1207-1228.
Per pale *azure* and *gules*, a bende *or*.

RICHARD GRANT *alias* WETHERSHED (MAGNUS), A.D. 1230-1231.
Ermyn, on a bende *azure* three mulletts[1] *or* voided.

[1] Parker, "three cinquefoils."

EDMUND RICH, *alias* DE ABENDEN or ABINGDON, A.D. 1234-1240.

Gules, a cross patent *or* beetwene four sea-pyes[1] proper.

[1] Parker, "Cornish choughs."

BONIFACE OF SAVOY, A.D. 1241-1270.

Gules, a plain cross *argent.*

ROBERT KILWARBY or KILWARDBY, A.D. 1272-1277.

Azure, on a bende *gules* 3 scallops *argent.*

JOHN PECKHAM, A.D. 1279-1292.

Ermyn, a chefe quarterlye *or* and *gules.*

ROBERT WINCHELSEA, A.D. 1293-1313.

Argent, a fess *gules* beetwene too barrulets *ermyn*, on chefe three cinquefoils *vert.*[1]

[1] Parker, "Barrée of six *gules* and *ermine*, in chief three cinquefoils *or.*"

WALTER REGINALD or REYNOLDS, A.D. 1313-1327.

Azure, on a plain cross beetwene the 4 Evangelists *or* five lions rampant *gules.*

SIMON MEPHAM, A.D. 1328-1333.

Azure, three bendes *or.*[1]

[1] Hasted, probably on the strength of the letter M, as the initial of his name, assigns to him—"*argent*, on a cross *azure* the letter M *or* crowned of the same;" which in the MS. are assigned to Simon Sudbury.

JOHN STRATFORD, A.D. 1333-1348.

Argent, a fess *gules* beetwene three beasants.[1]

[1] Parker, "per fess *gules* and *sable* three plates, two and one."
"*Or*, a fess *gules* between 3 torteaux." Additional MSS. Br. Museum, No. 12,443.

JOHN UFFORD or OFFORD, A.D. 1348-1349.
Sable, a plain cross engrailed *or*.[1]

[1] The arms of the family of Ufford, Earls of Suffolk.

THOMAS BRADWARDINE, A.D. 1349.
Barwayes of six peeces *ermyn* and *ermyn*.[1]

[1] Parker, "Barrée of six *sable* guttée *argent* and *ermine*."

SIMON ISLIP, A.D. 1349-1366.
Gules, a cross formye *argent*.[1]

[1] Parker, "*gules*, a cross pattée *argent*, in the 1st and 4th quarters a dove proper."

SIMON LANGHAM, A.D. 1366-1368 (resigned).
Or, a chevron embattled *gules* beetwene 3 trefoyles *vert*.

WILLIAM WYTLESAY or WYTTESLEY, A.D. 1368-1374.
Or, a saltyer *azure*.

SIMON SUDBURY, A.D. 1375-1381.
Argent, on a plain cross *azure* the letter M crowned *or*.[1]

[1] Hasted gives this coat to Simon Mepham, and from a window in Trinity College, Cambridge (see Cole's additional MSS. in Br. Museum, xxviii. f. 166), assigns to Sudbury "*azure*, a talbot bound seiant within a bordure engrailed *argent*;" this appears also on a seal attached to a charter among the *Chartæ Antiquæ* in the Treasury of the Dean and Chapter at Canterbury, to which is added the legend, "S. Simonis de Sudburi." Willemont ('Heraldic Notices of Canterbury Cathedral,' pp. 17-19) thinks the latter were the paternal bearings, and that he assumed the cross, &c., in his Episcopal character.

WILLIAM COURTNEY, A.D. 1381-1396.
Or, three torteaux on a file (label) of three points *azure*,[1] three bysshops myters *argent*.

[1] The arms of the Earls of Devon, to which family he belonged; the 3 mitres being a personal addition for difference, referring to his promotion through the Sees of Hereford and London to Canterbury.

ROGER WALDEN, 1398 (intruded, but never recognised).
Sable, too barrs, three cinqfoiles in chefe *argent.*

THOMAS ARUNDEL, 1397-1414.
The arms of the old Earls of Arundel within a bordure engrailed.
These are,—quarterly, 1st and 4th *gules*, a lion rampant *or*,[1] (Arundel); 2d and 3d chequy *azure* and *or* within a bordure engrailed *argent* (Alan).

[1] From the tomb in Canterbury Cathedral, Willemont (p. 17) gives "*argent.*"

HENRY CHICHELEY, A.D. 1414-1443.
Or, a chevron beetwene 3 cinqfoyls *gules.*

JOHN STAFFORD, A.D. 1443-1452.
Or, a chevron[1] *gules* within a border engrailed *sable.*

[1] Parker adds, "a mitre of the field on the chevron added to his paternal coat on his consecration."

JOHN KEMPE, A.D. 1452-1454.
Gules, three garbes (wheat-sheafs) within a border engrailed *or.*[1]

[1] A Cardinal's hat is over the shield in Canterbury Cathedral.

THOMAS BOURGHCHER or BOURCHIER, A.D. 1454-1486.
Argent, a plaine cross engrailed *gules* beetwene four water-bougettes *sable.*[1]

[1] Parker, "quarterly in 1st and 4th a mullet of difference; in 2d and 3d *gules* billettee a fess *or*, all within a bordure *azure.*"

JOHN MORTON, A.D. 1486-1501.
Quarterly *gules* and *ermine*, on first and last quarter a goat's head erased *argent*, attired *or.*

HENRY DENE, DEANE, or DENNY, A.D. 1501-1503.

Argent, on a chevron *gules* three Byshopp's Staves[1] *or*, beetwene as manie crowes *sable*.

[1] The three Bishop's staves added to mark his threefold preferment to the Sees of Bangor, Salisbury, and Canterbury. Cole's Additional MSS. Br. Museum, xxvi. f. 195.

WILLIAM WARHAM, A.D. 1503-1533.

Gules, a fess *or*, beetwene a goat's head and three scallops *argent*, attired *or*.

THOMAS CRANMER, A.D. 1533-1556.

Argent, a chevron beetwene 3 cranes[1] *sable*.

[1] His ancestral arms changed to pelicans by Henry VIII., who, whether in presage or in irony, said that like them "he ought to be ready to shed his blood for his young ones."—Strype's Mem., p. 126.

REGINALD POLE, A.D. 1556-1559.

Per pale *or* and *sable*, a saltier engrailed and counter-chaurged.

MATTHEW PARKER, 1559-1576.

Gules, on a chevron beetwene 3 keyes *argent*, as manie mulletts of the first.[1]

[1] Three estoils added on consecration. See Strype's Life of Cranmer, p. 49.

EDMUND GRINDALL, A.D. 1576-1583.

Quarterlie *or* and *azure*, a plain cross quartered *ermine* and of the first beetwene four doves counter-collered of the second and *argent*.[1]

[1] Parker says "*or*."

JOHN WHITGIFT, A.D. 1583-1604.

Quarterly *argent* and *or*, on the first and last quarters a

cross formè flurtè (florete?) *sable* charged with four beasants, on the second and third quarters the same cross *azure* with the same charges.

RICHARD BANCROFT, A.D. 1604-1610.
Or, on a bend *azure* three garbs (wheat-sheafs) of the first betweene six cross crossletts of the second.

GEORGE ABBOT, A.D. 1611-1633.
Gules, a chevron between three pears *or*.

WILLIAM LAUD, A.D. 1633-1645.
Sable, on a chevron between three estoiles *or* as many crosses patti-fitchey *gules*.

WILLIAM JUXON, A.D. 1660-1663.
Or, a cross *gules* between four black-boyes' heads proper.

GILBERT SHELDON, A.D. 1663-1678.
Argent, on a chevron *gules* 3 sheldrakes proper, on a canton of the second a rose of the first.

WILLIAM SANCROFT, A.D. 1678-1691.
Argent, on a chevron between three crosses formy *gules* as many doves of the first.

JOHN TILLOTSON, A.D. 1691-1695.
Azure, a bend cotised[1] between 2 garbs *or*.

[1] Parker, "*azure*, two bendlets."

THOMAS TENISON, A.D. 1695-1716.
Gules, a bend engrailed *azure* voided *argent*, between three pards' heads jessant-de-lys[1] of the second.

[1] With a fleur-de-lys issuing from it.

WILLIAM WAKE, A.D. 1716-1737.
Or,[1] two barrs *gules*, and in chief 3 torteuxes, in the fess point a trefoil *vert*.

[1] Parker, "*argent*."

JOHN POTTER, A.D. 1737-1747.
Sable, a fess *ermine* between 3 cinquefoils *argent*.

THOMAS HERRING, A.D. 1747-1757.
Gules, three herrings between 9 cross crosslets *argent*.

MATTHEW HUTTON, A.D. 1757-1758.
Gules, on a fess between 3 cushions *argent*[1] three fleur-de-lys of the first.[2]

[1] Hasted, "ermine." [2] Willemont, "sable."

THOMAS SECKER, A.D. 1758-1768.
Gules, a bend engrailed between two bulls' heads erased *or*.

FREDERICK CORNWALLIS, A.D. 1768-1783.
Sable, guttes de larmes on a fess *argent* three Cornish choughs proper.[1]

[1] Hasted adds, "a rose for difference;" as the 7th son of Lord Cornwallis.

JOHN MOORE, A.D. 1783-1805.
Argent, on a chevron *sable*, between three Moors' heads, couped at the shoulders proper, habited *or*, two swords respecting each other *argent*, pomelled and hilted *or*.

(The MS. ceases here: the arms of the subsequent Archbishops are added from private sources.)

CHARLES MANNERS SUTTON, 1805-1828.

Quarterly, 1st and 4th *argent*, a canton *sable;* 2d and 3d *or*, two bars *azure*, a chief quarterly of the last charged with two fleurs-de-lys *or*, and *gules*, a lion of England.

WILLIAM HOWLEY, 1828-1848.

Azure, an eagle displayed *erminois* charged on the breast with a cross fleury *gules*.

JOHN BIRD SUMNER, 1848-1862.

Ermine, two chevronels *gules*.

CHARLES THOMAS LONGLEY, 1862-1868.

Quarterly, 1st and 4th quarterly per fess indented *or* and *azure;* 2d and 3d *argent*, on a chevron *sable* three bezants.

ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL TAIT, 1868-1882.

Quarterly, 1st and 4th *argent*, a saltire and chief both engrailed *gules;* 2d and 3d two crows paleways, both transfixed through the neck by an arrow in fess proper.

EDWARD WHITE BENSON, 1883.

Argent, between two bendlets *gules*, three trefoils slipped *sable*.

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